

Thursday December 11 1997

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# The Guardian

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

Can men and women ever agree?

**Date rape: reading the sexual signals**

G2 with European Weather



James Wood on an epic year for US fiction

**Just how great are America's literary legends?**

G2 Books, pages 7-9



The Digital Age

**Good karma, bad karma**

G2 OnLine, pages 12-13

Impassioned defence of cuts by Harman after minister and PPS resign

## Rebel MPs jolt Blair on benefits

Michael White, Ewen MacAskill and Anne Perkins

**T**ONY BLAIR'S honeymoon with his own party ended dramatically last night after two Labour MPs resigned their government posts to join the first backbench revolt of the Blair era to vote against the cut in lone parent benefits.

The act of defiance came after an impassioned Commons defence of the Social Security Bill by Harriet Harman, and arm-twisting by whips and loyalists, desperate to uphold the Government's commitment to stand by "hard choices". Downing Street insisted: "We have got to toughen these things out. It has been argued for 15 years in this House that lone parents are poor... because of the absence of opportunity to work." Ms Harman said: "This Government is determined to tackle the barriers that lone parents face when they want to work."

"We should be concerned about generations growing up without the example of work. Lone parents want to set an example. Life is about work, not just about claiming benefits."

With most Conservatives voting with the Government on a proposal which they themselves first devised in office, the majority was misleadingly large for the Government, though most Liberal Democrats and Nationalists joined the rebels. But Mr Blair lost a chunk of his 179-vote May 1 majority.

The exact figures were initially unclear. Some loyal absentees, including three min-



isters, Jack Straw in Washington, and John Prescott and Michael Meecham at the Kyoto summit, were absent.

Though ministers denied it, the scale of the revolt prompted caution by Mr Blair's chief whip, Nick Brown. Rebels will not lose the Labour whip for their defiance, but they will be warned not to do it again.

The rebuff prompted uproar in the Commons on a day which saw the junior Scottish Office minister, Malcolm Chisholm, resign his post "with great reluctance and regret" before lunch — to be followed by Gordon Prentice, unpaid parliamentary private secretary (PPS) to the Transport Minister, Gavin Strang.

Three other ministerial PPSs, Alice Mahon, (Chris Smith's aide) Mick Chapman (Alan Milburn) and Neil Gerard (Dawn Primarolo) were pledged to join the revolt — knowing they would be sacked for doing so.

Single parents, who will bear the brunt of the cuts — worth £285 million over three

years — lobbied Westminster, and William Hague, the Tory leader, harried Mr Blair at Question Time.

Downing Street shrugged off Mr Chisholm's departure but stressed Mr Blair's determination to stick by his decision.

"The Prime Minister takes decisions and he sticks to them," the official spokesman declared as Mr Chisholm's fellow-Scot, Calum MacDonaid, MP for the Western Isles, was appointed to his place. Anne McGuire, MP for Stirling, will take Mr MacDonaid's place as PPS to the Scottish Secretary, Donald Dewar.

As angry exchanges on the government benches showed last night, the rebels believe that New Labour has no mandate to take money from the poorest in society. In their exchange of views Mr Chisholm himself, a former Campaign Group activist, said: "I have enjoyed my work there enormously, but cannot bring myself to vote with the Government tonight on lone parents."

That view was endorsed by a list of almost three to one in this week's Guardian/ICM poll. The rebels' sense of outrage will be stiffened by last night's leak to the Guardian that Whitehall is poised to unveil a £20 million package of aid to farmers — only slightly less than this year's projected savings on lone parents.

Loyalists, some of whom dislike the lone parent cut, warned the rebels they would be playing into Tory and Fleet Street hands by the critical debate. Mr Hague had taunted the Prime Minister: "Isn't it the case of us having the courage of our convictions, one resigned minister having the courage of his convictions and the Labour Party in general having neither



Three-month-old Frankie Falkohn, from London, at a protest outside the Commons yesterday

'We should be concerned about generations growing up without the example of work. Lone parents want to set an example. Life is about work, not just benefits'

— Harriet Harman

'Things can only get better,' we all sang on May 1. I think I missed the verse excluding lone parents — because it defies common sense and decency to support these cuts'

— Alice Mahon

## Irvine clashes with Straw

Battle between ministers over barristers' rights gets personal

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

**T**HE Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, and the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, are engaged in an increasingly acrimonious and personal battle over barristers' near-monopoly of the criminal courts.

The tone has deteriorated to the point that the Home Secretary sent an angry letter to the Lord Chancellor pointing out that Mr Straw represented the elected government, a reminder that Lord Irvine owes his place in cabinet to Tony Blair's patronage.

The feud has become so intense the Prime Minister has been called in to adjudicate. At issue is Labour's manifesto commitment to speed up the justice system. Mr Straw wants to end barristers' almost exclusive right to enter pleas in criminal courts, which he sees as creating

long delays, and instead allow Crown Prosecution Service solicitors to enter pleas in uncontested cases. Lord Irvine has been fighting to keep barristers' rights.

Earlier this week, Mr Straw appeared to have come out on top but the Lord Chancellor has mounted a rear-guard action and the issue remains deadlocked.

Mr Straw had been hoping to announce the change next week, when the Crime and Disorder Bill is in the Commons for its second reading. But that has now been put on hold. "The ducks are not yet lined up," a government source sympathetic to Mr Straw said yesterday.

Lord Irvine has irritated cabinet colleagues and other ministers over what they see as his arrogance and too much interference in their departments. There was glaze in Westminster when the Lord Chancellor ran into trouble recently, being ridiculed for

comparing himself with Cardinal Wolsey and over the \$59,000 cost of wallpapering his quarters at Westminster.

Lord Irvine is shaping up as one of the most interventionist Lord Chancellors this century, even more so than the Tory Lord Halsbury in the 1970s and 1980s.

The exchanges between Mr Straw and Lord Irvine go much further than the normal creative tension between departments. In a separate clash with the Home Office, for instance, Lord Irvine reprimanded the Home Office Minister, Alun Michael, recently for going beyond government policy in promoting action to prevent alleged rapists from cross-examining victims. Mr Straw, though agreeing that Mr Michael had gone beyond his remit, was annoyed that Lord Irvine had interfered in his department and issued a curt reminder that Mr Michael was one of his ministers.

The two have also been at odds over the Freedom of Information Act, with the Home Office disputing a version being drafted at Westminster.

ster that Lord Irvine had triumphed over Mr Straw.

The row over barristers' representation can be traced back to the Narey report, which was part of a Home Office review and which Mr Straw, while still in opposition, promised to implement.

The report said: "One significant cause of delay is that the time taken by defendants to obtain legal aid means cases cannot be brought to court immediately after charge."

The report recommended that "all those defendants who intend pleading guilty should obtain advice and representation from the duty solicitor at court. This would be free of charge... given on the morning of the court appearance. This would mean that defendants who pleaded guilty would be dealt with the day after they were charged."

Mr Straw, on becoming Home Secretary, promised to implement the Narey report. But the section on giving solicitors the right to enter pleas was missing when the Crime and Disorder Bill was published recently.

## EU warns of BSE risk from lamb

Stephen Bates in Brussels and Ewen MacAskill

**T**HE meat industry suffered a fresh blow yesterday when the European Union raised alarm over a possible link between BSE and lamb, nutrition and meat.

The British government prepared to announce a £50 million compensation package to help beef farmers.

The warning from EU scientists concerns meat attached to bones from spinal columns, and could apply to chops, rack of lamb and Greek kleftiko. Cuts such as leg of lamb are not affected.

It sparked immediate protests from producers, leaving EU officials trying to head off yet another farming crisis.

The report recommended "intestines of bovines, sheep and goats of all ages and the lungs, vertebral columns and dorsal root ganglia of these animals older than 12 months" should be included in the list of products carrying

a risk of BSE infection. In the case of Britain, the time limit should be brought down to six months.

John Thornley, of the National Sheep Association, claimed the risk was non-existent. "The idea that we should change the whole sheep industry as a precaution... is ridiculous," he said.

The committee produced no evidence that a risk exists, calling instead for a risk assessment.

The alarm follows last week's government ban on the sale of beef on the bone because of advice that it could carry a marginal risk of BSE.

The £50 million package, which follows farmers' blockades of ports and supermarkets, will be controversial. One minister complained yesterday that some farmers, in spite of protestations by those on the picket lines, stood to make lots of money out of the new package. "That money could be much better turned to page 2, column 7

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# World record price for sporting book



'He was delighted when Hugh McIlvanney agreed to write it. It's a quality pairing'

— A L Baines, Alex Ferguson's business adviser



Alex Ferguson, who will be helped on his autobiography by award-winning sports writer Hugh McIlvanney (top left)

MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

## Well Red: Fergie's £1m story

### Dan Glaister on the fight for autobiography of Man United manager

A S MANCHESTER United faced Juventus in Turin last night, manager Alex Ferguson could have been forgiven for allowing his thoughts to stray to a £1 million battle being played out in an accountant's office in Warrington.

Yesterday the deadline passed for bids to publish the United manager's autobiography. With publishers asked to offer £450,000 to enter the bidding, the final price could be as high as £1 million. A decision is expected at the end of the week.

"I will only repeat what the publishers have said to me, which is that it will break the world record for any sporting book," said A L Baines, accountant and business adviser to Ferguson.

The sum paid will be the latest item in the trading activities associated with United, which have made the club as successful in the stock market as it is on the pitch.

The book's bankability is aided by the presence of award-winning sports writer Hugh McIlvanney to help Ferguson, who will be 56 on New Year's eve, to explain his story. The book will cover his years as a union representative via success as Aberdeen manager to the heights he has scaled at Old Trafford. It will

be published in the autumn of 1998. Ferguson's contract as United manager expires at the end of the 1998/9 season.

Most of the big publishing houses are involved in the bidding. Penguin and HarperCollins are thought to be leading, while Hodder, Fourth Estate and Transworld are also involved. Andre Deutsch, which publishes the club's books, has made a bid, as has the Edinburgh publisher Mainstream, which has published previous books by Ferguson.

But with one publisher thought to have bid \$650,000, it is unlikely the smaller publishers will be able to compete.

Mr Baines said the unique nature of the book justified the price. "This would be the only authorised biography of Alex Ferguson. He was delighted when Hugh McIlvanney agreed to write it. It's really a quality combination. We are accepting open bids and will make a decision by the end of the week. We want to make it a level playing field for the publishers, but we will go with one he feels confident with, one of the highest pedigree. It's not about money."

Sporting biographies have overtaken political biographies as the publishing world's big sellers. "The world of biography and autobiography is moving away from politics because nobody

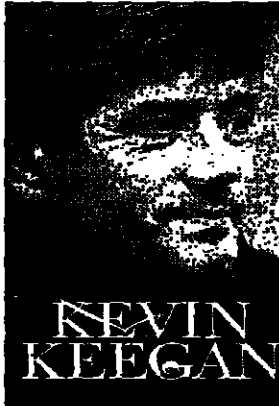
buys books on politics any more," said literary agent Giles Gordon. "We sat down after the election and looked at all the politicians leaving the House and just groaned."

The only recent example of a big publishing deal for a politician was the £400,000 advance paid to John Major. No publisher was interested in William Hague's memoirs.

Sports books, however, are booming. The autobiography of former cricket umpire Dickie Bird, for which he received a mere £100,000 advance, is at number three in the hardback non-fiction best-seller lists, above Andrew Morton's Diana: Her True Story. Following recent success for Jack Charlton and Kenny Dalglish, a rash of books is expected to coincide with next year's World Cup. A two-book deal with England manager Glenn Hoddle is being offered to publishers, as are books by Alan Shearer and John Barnes. Chelsea manager Ruud Geulth has signed a deal with publishers Random House, and Wimbledon's Vinnie Jones is expected to publish his autobiography next year.

"The market for these sorts of books is very strong," said agent Simon Trewin. "Given the fact that it costs a lot to go and see a football match, a £20 book is very affordable. Alex Ferguson is the granddaddy of managers and Man Utd is the top brand name in football. If 80 per cent of Man Utd supporters have never been to Old Trafford, there will be people all over the world who will want to read this book."

An important part of any deal of this magnitude is



### The price is right

| Sports stars                                             | Price    |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| Jack Charlton: The Autobiography (Random House, £14.99)  | £500,000 |
| Kenny Dalglish: My Autobiography (Random House, £14.99)  | £500,000 |
| Glenn Hoddle: The Autobiography (Random House, £14.99)   | £250,000 |
| Kenny Dalglish: The Autobiography (Random House, £14.99) | £250,000 |
| Alan Shearer: My Autobiography (Random House, £14.99)    | £100,000 |

### Politicians

| Price    |
|----------|
| £7m      |
| £3.5m    |
| £400,000 |
| £250,000 |

Coming up: Bred Gullit, Alan Shearer, Vinnie Jones, John Barnes, Gary Lineker

## Anger at deal loopholes as climate talks drag on

### Paul Brown in Kyoto

DELEGATES to the world climate conference were struggling frantically last night to salvage an already much-diluted agreement on curbing greenhouse gas emissions, amid acrimonious exchanges, mutual recrimination, and a warning from the summit's chairman that three years of painstaking negotiations were being squandered.

As a series of deadlines for the end to the conference passed, the exasperated Kyoto summit chairman, Raul Estrada, said he was concerned at the possibility that the pact could explode in delegates' faces. "Perhaps we are about to blow up the whole possibility of an agreement," he said.

One key stumbling block was the threat by India and China to veto the draft agreement because, they claimed, it was full of loopholes. The object of their scorn was a deal whereby the US, the EU and Japan would lead the industrialised world in a cut of 6 per cent in greenhouse gases by 2008 to 2012.

The developing world delegates were incensed by a proposed treaty provision allowing the US to buy pollution "quotas" off other countries, thereby obviating the need to cut deeply its domestic emissions.

Environment groups added to the discord, saying the proposals were so bad they represented a disaster for the environment and would be better discarded altogether than accepted as they stood.

At San Tokyo time today — after more than 48 sleepless hours — delegates voted to extend the conference again, without a break, in a bid to reach agreement.

A draft of a final document

had been produced 15 hours after the original deadline for the end of the conference. Omitted were the key targets by which each of the big economic powers, Japan, the US and the EU, had agreed to reduce their emissions on 1990 levels by the new target date of between 2008 and 2012. Japan has provisionally agreed to reduce its emissions by 6 per cent, the US by 7 per cent and the EU by 8 per cent. This represents a major concession by the EU.

The cuts, add up to an aggregate of 6 per cent across the industrialised world as some countries, such as Norway, Australia and Iceland, have been allowed increases.

The day was punctuated by a series of meetings between key countries. All the time the 130-plus countries, with China, that make up the block of developing countries known as G77 were kept in the dark about what was going on and reacted angrily when finally consulted.

The most contentious issue for most of the last week was what critics called loopholes in the agreement, notably trading in emissions. This would allow the United States to avoid taking action at home by buying up notional emissions — saved from countries such as Russia. This could mean that the US would in effect have to cut its emissions by only 3.5 per cent.

Patrick Green, of Friends of the Earth International, said: "This is a complete sell-out of the expectations of millions of people round the world who had their hopes raised by this conference."

There is already a new conference of the 164 nations fixed for next November in Argentina.

Analysis, page 11; Leader comment, page 8

## Yeltsin illness raises alarm

### James Meek in Moscow

A NEW period of instability within Russia's looming ruling class loomed yesterday as the Kremlin acknowledged that President Boris Yeltsin would be out of action for up to 12 days in the most serious bout of illness since his recovery from heart surgery and pneumonia in February.

The 66-year-old leader was confined to a government sanatorium outside Moscow with what aides called "an acute respiratory-viral infection".

Mr Yeltsin's press spokesman, Sergei Yastrzhembsky, insisted that the infection could develop into nothing worse than flu, the president's temperature was only slightly higher than normal and he was able to work and walk around indoors.

During his July 1996 re-election campaign, aides said that Mr Yeltsin was suffering from a cold. In fact he had had a heart attack.

Renewed illness of any kind is an enormous setback for Mr

Yeltsin whose recovery from quintuple heart bypass surgery and pneumonia at the beginning of the year were essential to his growing confidence in dealing with political opponents and to his authority as arbiter between squabbling potential successors.

The Kremlin confirmed that Mr Yeltsin had been taken ill after unofficial reports began to circulate in Moscow in the early afternoon. Mr Yastrzhembsky revealed that doctors had become concerned about his health when he caught a cold during his trip to Sweden last week.

At the time, Mr Yastrzhembsky explained Mr Yeltsin's haggard appearance and confused, inaccurate statements by saying that he was "tired".

Clearly keen to show it was business as usual, Mr Yastrzhembsky said the president had told him to go ahead with a trip to Kiev today. He said Mr Yeltsin had closely followed yesterday's passenger jet hijacking.

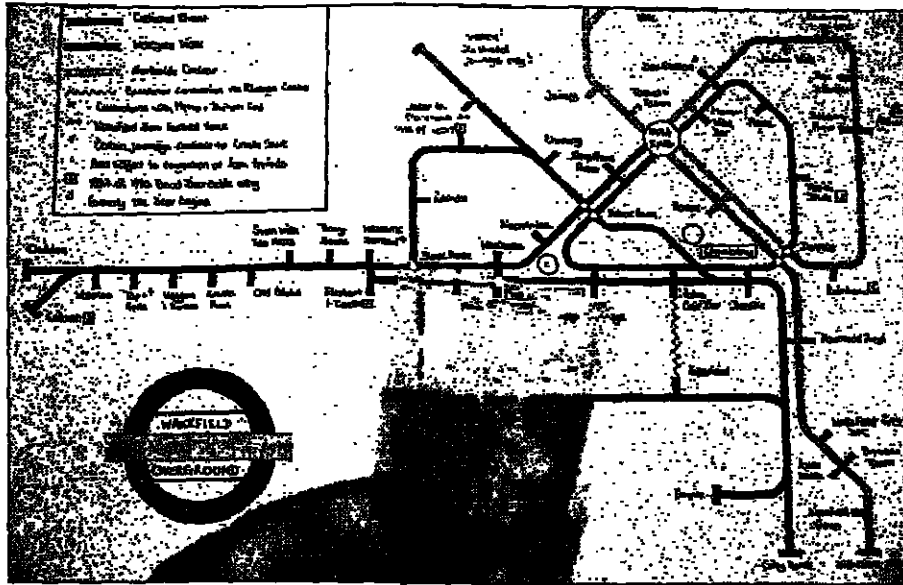
Cold comfort, page 8

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## A bar where the beers boast sleepy heads

Martin Wainwright visits Harry's, where last orders come early

**H**OISTING a simple, scribbled notice as his battle-flag — Sorry, we close at 10pm — a pub landlord has launched a fightback against the trend towards 24-hour marathon beer outlets in Britain's cities.

Positioned just off one of the country's densest concentrations of pubs, the Westgate Run in Wakefield, West Yorkshire, Michael Bateson has taken an un-

usual early closing licence to make his point about keeping variety in urban drinking places. "I want somewhere that I'd like to have a drink in myself," he said yesterday, "a place where customers can come after work, discuss the meaning of life and then potter off home for an earlyish bed."

Discussing the meaning of life is all but impossible in nearby rivals of the new

pub — Harry's Bar — which is increasingly dominated by high decibel music and satellite TV (10 screens, one cinema-size, in the newest, £1.3 million conversion). The trend is reflected in other big cities including Leeds, where a run of mega-bars financed by large brewery chains is causing growing concern about a "drinkers' monoculture" in the centre. The Westgate Run, part

of a tradition which has earned Wakefield a drinkers' version of the London Tube map, attracts punters to more than 40 pubs on or near Westgate from all over the North, including coach parties from Tyne-side.

West Yorkshire police, who raised no objection to the early licence, said: "A pub which wants to close early is certainly unusual, especially in Wakefield."

Mr Bateson, 59 and an architect whose earlier ventures include a local disco, Chatterbox, famous for resolutely opening only two nights a week, said: "I am not against any type of pub."

"But there should be something for the quieter, traditional drinker. Our 10pm deadline is one way of flagging up that message. We don't want to be part of the Westgate Run. We

are looking for customers who like an early drink, after work, and the prospect of feeling bright-eyed, and lively the next morning."

The early licence, which has already led to bemused customers being turned away is one of the first to be granted since the drive for 24-hour cities started about 10 years ago.

Harry's decor of plain, scrubbed-wood tables and

tartan carpeting is also designed to deaden noise and allow private conversations by customers.

"It's a place for customers who want to create their own atmosphere," said Mr Bateson, whose Westgate competitors have spent more than £50 million on gutting and expanding pubs in the last five years. "The big places are really for people who want their atmosphere created

for them — the TVs, the loud music and so on."

The self-imposed limit was welcomed by customers at Harry's yesterday. Beryl Stephenson, an education welfare officer ordering a glass of spring water, said: "I wouldn't come into town on a night to drink normally, but I do like coming here." Her friend Pam Osborne added: "I think it really depends on how old you are."

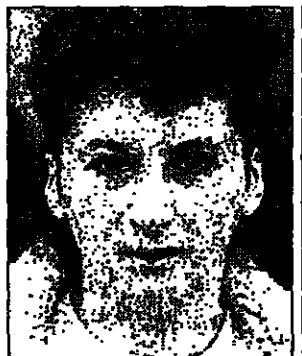
Sign of the time... Michael Bateson at work, and (top left) the Tube-type map of Wakefield pubs

MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCHIE

### Stakefield

- **The Waterloos**: guest brews; closing time 11pm
- **Smitty's Arms**: long happy hour; split/sawdust wooden floor; 11pm
- **The Wagons**: live entertainers including jazz; satellite TV; pub games; 11pm
- **Tap and Spill**: guest beers include Moonshine, Black Sheep, Buttonhole's Conciliation; 11.30pm
- **Scruffy Murphy's**: sham-rock; live entertainment; 11pm
- **Pitchers**: four-part cinema-sized TV screen, with 10 subordinate sets
- **Flamours**: cocktail specialists; application for 3am licence
- **The Fiddlers Horse**: Targets students; horse-crazed decor; 11pm
- **Exclusive Exchange Bar**: live dance music; 11pm
- **Jumpin' Jacks**: disco-pub; late licence
- **Merry Bloom**: live entertainment; 'yard bar' opening next month; 11pm
- **Black Horses**: old fashioned decor; 11pm

## Obsessed ex-lover defiant after anti-stalking order



Mandi Spoor... made 226 telephone calls over 11 days

Lucy Patton

**A** WOMAN obsessed by her former lover bombarded him with hundreds of phone calls and dozens of letters, threatening to kill any new girlfriend. Before Mandi Spoor faced magistrates in Alnwick, Northumberland, yesterday for stalking lifeboat coxswain Roger Stephenson, 36, in the quiet seaside village of Boulmer, she said: "I was obsessed by him. And yes, I'm still obsessed by him. I'm not going to give him up."

She was sentenced to two years' probation and an indefinite restraining order was issued preventing her from threatening her former lover and his mother with telephone calls or letters. The couple's affair began in March last year. They began living together in June and were happy for a short time until the relationship deteriorated when Mr Stephenson thought she was having a relationship with another man. The court heard that Spoor also made threatening phone calls to Mr Stephenson's 64-year-old mother, Ella. Mr Mason said she had been accused of slashing her tyres and putting Superglue in the car locks. She denied carrying out the attacks.

British Telecom recorded 226 calls to Mr Stephenson's home when they monitored his line. Mr Mason said: "The defendant made two violent attacks on Mr Stephenson in the space of 24 hours last year. One involving a knife and the other involving a fire poker." Spoor admitted making "persistent messages to cause annoyance and distress" between November 1996 and September this year in breach of the 1994 Telecommunications Act. She also pleaded guilty to harassment and causing Mr Stephenson to fear violence

between June 16 and September 9 this year under new anti-stalking laws. Defence lawyer Richard Scott told the court: "She has now taken up a horse management course at college to get her mind off Roger." He said Spoor had behaved herself and had not tried to contact Mr Stephenson after the court issued a restraining order at earlier proceedings. Before yesterday's hearing, Spoor said: "I have seen Roger's picture four times. It's a good film. You should never give up and I don't want to give up. It started as love or lust but now it's

revenge. I am not a raging lunatic. I did it because I like getting back at people. If people hurt me I will hurt them back. "We only split up because he thought I was going out with someone else. I fell in lust with him because he had a gorgeous body. I was obsessed by him. And yes, I'm still obsessed by him. I'm not going to give up. "I think he still cares for me even if he says he doesn't. They've already ordered me to keep away from him but where there's a will there's a way. When I see him it's like a bull seeing red."

for them — the TVs, the loud music and so on."

The self-imposed limit was welcomed by customers at Harry's yesterday. Beryl Stephenson, an education welfare officer ordering a glass of spring water, said: "I wouldn't come into town on a night to drink normally, but I do like coming here." Her friend Pam Osborne added: "I think it really depends on how old you are."

## Police check Triad links in search for killers of Chinese restaurateur

Martin Wainwright

**P**OLICE are checking Triad networks in northern Britain after the murder of a leading restaurant owner in an up-market area of Leeds. Four off-duty officers tackled a gang of raiders wielding a machete and knife at the Dynasty restaurant in Headingley, but discovered the body of Chan Kwok "Jackie" Tam lying in the kitchen yard riddled with shotgun wounds. The attackers, who were all

wearing black balaclavas, fled in a stolen black BMW coupé whose numberplates had been swapped earlier. The abandoned car, which is believed to have been stolen on Tuesday in Roundhay, was found later in Headingley and was being checked last night by a forensic team. The killing follows repeated claims of Triad secret society activity in the North. This is alleged to involve protection rackets against restaurants, shielded by the threats against witnesses in a tradi-

tionally close community. But West Yorkshire police are also following up reports from witnesses that men seen changing the plates of the stolen BMW two hours before the attack were white. Det Supt Philip Revell-Johnson, who is leading a team of 26 officers on the murder inquiry, said: "We are examining all sorts of possibilities but at the moment it is being treated as a robbery that went wrong, that has been thwarted by the staff and the actions of the off-duty officers."

Diners at the Dynasty, one of the city's most popular Chinese restaurants, were warned of the attack when a helicopter arrived from the kitchen. The off-duty officers from Westwood station, seized chairs as shields, ran into the kitchen and confronted two masked men armed with a machete and large knife. The pair, who had earlier burst into the kitchen shouting that they were after cash, fled when two of the officers tried to disarm them. They joined a third man outside, carrying a sawn-off shotgun which was brandished at the police. The officers dived for cover as the gang ran to the stolen car and drove off at speed. The force helicopter arrived to take part in the hunt as diners at the nearby Italian restaurant were asked for help with first aid. Mr Tam, aged 41, who was married and lived in Leeds, was taken to Leeds General Infirmary but was dead on arrival. Mr Revell-Johnson, who appealed for information about the attack, praised the courage of the off-duty policemen. "They were confronted with a man pointing a shotgun at them and they were extremely brave."

A major undercover operation against Triad activity in northern restaurants was mounted four years ago, and four Chinese men were charged with operating protection rackets. The RUC had to protect leaders from dissidents as the former reconvened to re-elect Robert Saulter as Grand Master. Armour-plated vehicles and riot police were called to the Orange Hall on the Shankill Road, Belfast. The leadership had been forced to move its meeting after several hundred members occupied the House of Orange, the headquarters in Belfast. Joel Patton, who heads the Spirit of Drumcree group, led the dissidents who turned away fellow Orangemen ar-

## Straw gives press a data law shield

David Hencke and Richard Norton-Taylor

**T**HE Government is to stop the rich and powerful using new laws to block investigative journalism by preventing people having access to information collected on them before it is published. Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, will this week announce measures to prevent the Data Protection Bill becoming the second piece of Labour legislation implementing a "back door" privacy law.

The bill — being introduced into law next year alongside the European Convention on Human Rights — implements a new European Union data protection directive giving the public the right to inspect files held on them. A leaked draft of the Data Protection Act bill does not include a reference to the media. It says only that the Home Secretary "may by order" make exemptions where he considers it "necessary for the safeguarding of the rights and freedoms of the data subject or of any other individual". However, a draft schedule to the bill will include media provisions. But a confidential Home Office document, obtained by

the Guardian, reveals that ministers believe the media should have a defence that "it was not possible in all the circumstances to comply with the directive consistently with the reasonable exercise of journalistic activities". It also gives the media a "public interest" defence to deny people access to information held on them. Mr Straw's decision is a serious rebuff for Lord Irvine, the Lord Chancellor, and Elizabeth France, the data protection commissioner, who were keen on using the new law as a further privacy law.

Mr Straw's announcement will amount to a victory for print journalists and broadcasters, who have been fighting to prevent Ms France becoming an EU-style privacy commissioner, with powers to demand access to files without needing to go to court. The new law will prevent her intervening without court approval both before and after publication. The Home Office confirmed that Mr Straw was keen to offer safeguards for investigative journalism. A spokesman said most negotiations were between the Home Office Minister Lord Williams of Mostyn, newspapers and broadcasters, and Lord Wakeham of the Press Complaints Commission.

## Hardline Orange rank and file at war with leadership

John Miffin

**T**HE Orange Order in Northern Ireland was at war last night, split between hardline rank and file and a less confrontational leadership. The RUC had to protect leaders from dissidents as the former reconvened to re-elect Robert Saulter as Grand Master. Armour-plated vehicles and riot police were called to the Orange Hall on the Shankill Road, Belfast. The leadership had been forced to move its meeting after several hundred members occupied the House of Orange, the headquarters in Belfast. Joel Patton, who heads the Spirit of Drumcree group, led the dissidents who turned away fellow Orangemen ar-

giving to rubber stamp Mr Saulter's re-election. Mr Patton blames Mr Saulter and fellow leaders, many of whom are unelected, for failing to represent Orangemen's right to march. Mr Saulter's key role in calling off the march through the nationalist Lower Ormeau Road in Belfast broke the dam on disengagement. Mr Patton called Mr Saulter's re-election a travesty of democracy. The dissidents may challenge the result in the courts, claiming that insufficient notice was given of the Shankill meeting. Martin Smith, a former Grand Master, accused Mr Patton of mob rule tactics. His fellow Ulster Unionist MP, Jeffrey Donaldson, standing down as Assistant Grand Master, conceded there was a serious split.

## Labour's new deal on health

**White paper: How will the NHS work? Chris Mihil looks beneath rhetoric at what changes will mean for patients and professionals**

What is the thrust of the white paper? Family doctors are to be given a bigger say in how local health services are shaped for their patients, although they will become more directly accountable for what they spend.

**How will this work?** Fundholding is to be abolished, to be replaced by "primary care groups": collections of GPs and community nurses providing and commissioning care for patient populations of around 100,000. There will be unified budgets covering hospital and community services, prescribing and GP services. Management costs will be capped in health authorities and primary care groups.

**Will there be national yardsticks on costs?** Yes. A national schedule of "reference costs" will itemise what treatments cost across the NHS. Hospitals will have to publish their own costs, which will be compared with the national averages as a way of tackling inefficiency. There will be financial incentives for health authorities that perform well, and hospitals and primary care groups will be able to use any savings to improve services. Health authorities will be able to curb the work of inefficient primary care groups, and in turn primary care groups will be able to remove their contracts from inefficient hospitals.

**Will it save money?** Frank Dobson, Health Secretary, estimates that cuts in red tape could save £1 billion by the next election. The number of commissioning bodies will drop from around 3,600 to 500.

**Will my GP or local hospital have more money?** That depends on whether savings can be made. The pie is unlikely to get bigger, but may be sliced up differently.

**Will I be able to get hospital appointments faster?** Treatment priorities will revert to the principle that the sickest should be seen first. Some patients at current fundholding practices may have to join the queue, rather than leapingfrogging to the front.

**What about regional variations in care?** National standards will be set to ensure consistent access to high quality care everywhere, under a commission for health improvement. A national institute for clinical excellence will issue guidance on best practice to achieve clinical and cost effectiveness.

**What else is new?** Suspected cancer patients will be guaranteed access to a specialist within two weeks of initial diagnosis, although this will not start for two years. NHS Direct, a 24 hour telephone advice service staffed by nurses, will help patients to decide whether they need to see a GP, take themselves to hospital or care for themselves at home. GPs and hospitals will be linked on a computer network, making the passing of information such as appointment dates and test results quicker and easier.

**What role will health authorities have?** They will become leaner but with stronger powers to oversee the effectiveness of the NHS locally. They will assess the needs of local people, drawing up health improvement programmes. Over time they will relinquish their commissioning role to primary care groups. Annual contracts — the subject of much complaint about needless paperwork — will be replaced by long-term service agreements, based on areas of care such as sick children or heart disease. Health authorities will act with local authorities and others to identify how actions on social, environmental and economic issues will affect the health of local people.

**Will there be job cuts?** In theory, but perhaps not in practice. Fewer hospital administrators will be needed, but the primary care groups will need administrative staff. Legislation is planned for 1999 after pilot schemes are assessed.

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## Secret hearing in case against ex-MI6 officer

**P**ART of the evidence on the circumstances which led to the Official Secrets Act charges against Richard Tomlinson, a former MI6 officer, will be heard behind closed doors. It was agreed yesterday, writes Richard Norton-Taylor. Jonathan Laidlaw, prosecuting counsel, said evidence to be heard in mitigation would relate to arguments on whether Mr Tomlinson, aged 34, damaged national security. The evidence related to an analysis of a book synopsis he passed to the Spirit of Drumcree group. He pleaded guilty to secrets charges last month.

مكتبة القرآن

News in brief

## Algeria clears balloon recovery

ALGERIA yesterday gave Richard Branson permission to fly into its airspace to recover his runaway balloon. The authorities have invited Branson's team to land at a military air base in Tindouf in the south-west, close to where the balloon landed. On Tuesday, Mr Branson's world record attempt to fly around the world in a balloon had to be aborted after the balloon broke away from its moorings as it was being inflated. Co-pilot Per Lindstrand said he would supervise the "wrapping" of the balloon envelope. He said: "We think it will probably be brought back by truck. That drive will probably take a couple of days." — *Vivek Chaudhary*

## Women's prisons 'neglected'

NEARLY half women's prisons have officially been rated as among the worst jails in England and Wales in need of urgent action to tackle neglect, chronic staff shortages and poor regimes. The five prisons in need of "special managerial attention" are named today by the Chief Inspector of Prisons, Sir David Ramsbottom. His inspection report published today on Bullwood Hall in Essex — one of the five on the list — says the prison had been left rudderless and suffered a chronic shortage of staff which had taken a heavy toll on the regime endured by inmates. The Chief Inspector says: "It seems management doubt the force of what I am saying they should ask themselves why and how they allowed Holloway, the women's wing at Risley (Cheshire), the women's wing at Low Newton (Durham), the staffing at Brockhill (Wales) and now the problems at Bullwood Hall not only to occur, but to continue."

Richard Tit, director general of prisons, said a "strategic recovery plan" for Bullwood Hall had been drawn up by the new governor. — *Alan Travis*

## Diana song raises £20m

ELTON John yesterday handed over a cheque for £20 million — the first instalment of proceeds from the sale of his number one hit, *Candle in the Wind '97* — to the Diana, Princess of Wales Memorial Fund. The cheque was presented to Diana's sister, Lady Sarah McCorquodale, and the fund's other trustees at Kensington Palace. The song, with new words for Diana by lyricist Bernie Taupin, has so far sold 33 million copies worldwide and a further £10 million is expected to be handed over soon. In five weeks, the song — sung by Elton at Diana's funeral in Westminster Abbey — outsold Bing Crosby's record-breaking *White Christmas*, which has notched up sales of 30 million in 55 years.

## Hindley decision next week

THE High Court yesterday reserved judgment on a "last chance" bid by Moors murderer Myra Hindley to overturn the decision that she must die in prison. Lord Bingham, the Lord Chief Justice, sitting with Mr Justice Hooper and Mr Justice Auld, said the court hoped to give its ruling before the end of next week. Hindley, 55, has served 31 years since she was jailed in 1966 as Ian Brady's co-accused in the murders of Lesley Ann Downey, 10, and Edward Evans, 17. Her lawyers are challenging a decision of the former home secretary, Michael Howard, upheld recently by his successor, Jack Straw — to confirm the increase of a provisional 30-year minimum sentence imposed in 1986 to a "whole life" sentence. The whole-life tariff unfairly failed to differentiate between her "lesser role" in the crimes and the culpability of Brady, her QC, Edward Fitzgerald, said.

## Scholars face library fee

CHARGES may have to be introduced for the 500,000 scholars a year who use the British Library's reading rooms to meet a "severe financial situation", its chief executive, Brian Lang, warned in his annual report yesterday. Before beginning its move to a new building in St Pancras, London in the summer, the library board reinforced its 250-year policy of free admissions. But Dr Lang said a £2.3 million cut in its 1998/99 government grant had reduced reading room services and purchase of learned journals and was threatening its "position as a leading agency in the purchase of British manuscripts". A 25 entry fee has been suggested. — *John Eard*

## Stonewall wins Liberty award

STONEWALL, the gay and lesbian rights group, and Lord Lester, QC, the Liberal Democrat peer, received the first annual human rights awards presented by Liberty, the civil liberties organisation, and the Law Society, John Wadham, director of Liberty, said Lord Lester's relentless efforts had contributed to the Government's decision to introduce a human rights bill. Stonewall's campaigning had helped persuade the Government to promise a free vote on the age of consent and change the immigration rules for same sex partners. — *Richard Norton-Taylor*



Gavin Rogers-Ball, who has taken his case to an industrial tribunal. PHOTOGRAPH: DARREN FLETCHER

## Chorister defends 'joke'

Cigarette ruse was last straw for Wells Cathedral, tribunal told

Geoffrey Gibbs

CHORAL scholar Gavin Rogers-Ball was dying for a cigarette. Stuck on a coach bringing the Wells Cathedral choir back from a performance in Germany, he had an idea — ask one of the boys to be sick and the adult members of the choir could step off the bus for a smoke. It was a ruse that was to cost the choir dearly. The cathedral authorities failed to see the funny side of a suggestion which, he says, was meant as a joke and stripped him of his £2,500-a-year scholarship and free accommodation. They had tut-tutted when he was seen talking during evensong and fumed when he was spotted reading a copy of *Private Eye* during an ordination service. But the smoke break incident was deemed a misdemeanour too far. One boy was said to have made himself sick and, although the coach did not stop, Mr Rogers-Ball later handed over a £5 payment after some of the boys in the choir threatened to go on strike. He later handed over £5 and a teddy bear he had won at Wells fair in order to save face. He had bumped into some junior school pupils just before choir practice and they had said they would go on strike if he did not pay. Canon Lucas said the incident in June 1986 was one of many factors that had persuaded him that Mr Rogers-Ball's scholarship should come to an end. "In 1994, I received two letters of complaint about Gavin — one from a member of the governing body and one from the vicar. They said that during an ordination service they had both seen him reading a copy of *Private Eye*." The canon said he had also received complaints that the chorister had been talking in evensong and other complaints about noise in his flat in the medieval buildings of Vicar's Close. Gerald Butler, a friend of the sacked chorister and former vicar principal at the cathedral, said Mr Rogers-Ball was disliked by elders at the church. "When I heard Gavin had been sacked my reaction was one of incredulity. I felt the remark made on the coach was just a joke." The tribunal was adjourned for two months.

## Primary schools to get drug abuse guidelines

Head teachers fear problems 'being swept under the carpet'

Rebecca Smithers  
Education Correspondent

PRIMARY schools are to be issued with guidelines on how to deal with drug abuse, amid warnings that solvent sniffing is rife among children as young as seven. Schools are choosing to sweep drug problems under the carpet — and often failing to contact the police — rather than risk damaging their reputations, said the National Association of Head Teachers. Young children often know more about drugs than their teachers, it added. The guidelines, the first to be published by the association for 10 years, offer schools practical advice on how to respond when children are found to be using not only solvents or controlled drugs, but also tobacco and alcohol. Association president Liz Faver, who is head of Intake primary school in Doncaster, described the growing problem within primary schools, saying: "Many children are living in communities where drug abuse is rife. They come to school educated about drugs beyond the knowledge of their teachers." Ever younger children were becoming involved with solvent abuse, she said: "There are seven, eight and nine-year-olds regularly in gangs abusing solvents." "The problem of solvent abuse by primary school children is a growing one and a national one. I and other association council members have been contacted by head teachers with details of the evidence in the playgrounds for all to see every morning: empty nail polish and aerosol containers in dark corners." Peter Walker, head of the Abbey school in Faversham, Kent, and a Home Office adviser on drugs, added: "The taking of drugs starts at a very early age." He said most recent statistics showed almost 50 per cent of youngsters had, by age 18, tried one form of drug or another. But only 2 to 3 per cent went on to become addicts. Association general secretary David Hart said he would be sending a copy of the guidelines to the Government's "drugs tsar", Keith Hellawell. He urged schools to be open about any problems, saying: "For it to be known that a school has dealt with a drugs problem sympathetically but firmly will enhance its reputation with parents, rather than damage it." But individual school heads were reluctant to discuss their experiences of drug use among younger pupils. Sylvia Morris, head of the Cathedral primary school in Southwark, south London, said: "Clearly, there are some very acute problems involving drug-taking among younger children, but in the current climate of 'naming and shaming' who is going to want their school identified as a 'problem school'?" The guidelines say that when drugs incidents occur, a child's parents should always be informed. Although schools are not legally bound to call the police when a drug incident, or offence, has been discovered, the association recommends that "calling the police would be an appropriate outcome for such a situation".

# Reforms will aid elderly

## 'Living wills' may gain force of law

Clare Dyer  
Legal Correspondent

SOCIAL workers could be given new duties to protect elderly or vulnerable people from abuse, neglect or exploitation, under proposals being considered by the Lord Chancellor. Powers similar to those exercisable in child abuse cases could allow them to enter premises where someone believed to be at risk is living. Courts would be able to order a vulnerable person's temporary removal for their own protection, or for doctors or social workers to carry out an assessment. The proposals form part of a package of reforms to give relatives, carers and the courts greater powers to take decisions on behalf of those incapable of deciding for themselves. A loophole in the current law means that there is no one with the legal right to take day-to-day welfare or healthcare decisions on behalf of a mentally incapacitated person. The reforms would set up a

legislative framework for living wills, under which people can decide in advance what medical intervention they want if they lose the ability to decide or communicate. The proposals were refined over a five-year period before the Law Commission published them in February 1995. The previous government was poised to implement them but had second thoughts when a tabloid newspaper said they would legalise euthanasia. Because living wills have been linked — albeit wrongly — with mercy-killing, the Government has decided it would be wise to carry out a new consultation. The Lord Chancellor, Lord Irvine, said the Government had not taken a definite decision to legislate. He stressed that the Government remained adamantly opposed to euthanasia, and that living wills could not authorise doctors to carry out mercy-killing. People would be able to refuse prolongation of life by artificial feeding — considered medical treatment — but would not be able to stop doctors giving basic care. Lord Irvine told peers that

case law has established that living wills are valid and binding on doctors. Legislation would simply give them statutory force and framework, introducing more certainty that a patient's wishes would be respected. "Advance statements cannot force a doctor to give a particular type of treatment. Nor can they ask a doctor to do anything which is illegal," he added. "An advance statement could not, for example, ask a doctor deliberately to end life." The blunt truth is that if a doctor took such action he would be exposed to a charge of murder. But Lord Lester, the Liberal Democrat peer who acted for the motor neurone disease sufferer, Anne Lindell, in her court plea for drugs to ease her mental distress, said the issues raised would stray into an area which some regarded as euthanasia. In the Commons, Mr Lester overwhelmingly rejected a private member's bill aimed at allowing doctors to help patients in pain or distress to die. Mr Lester voted by 231 votes to 89 against a formal first reading for the Doctor Assisted Dying Bill, piloted by Joe Ashton, Labour MP for Bassetlaw. The bill would have allowed people suffering distress from terminal illnesses to obtain a doctor's assistance to end their lives.

Leader comment, page 8

## Heathrow alert on 'near miss'

Owen Bowcott

TWO incoming transatlantic passenger flights converged on the same holding pattern as they approached Heathrow on Tuesday — triggering the second air alert within a week at the same spot. Both Boeing 767 jets, operated by Air Canada and United Airlines, descended towards 10,000ft at 20.50 on Tuesday before anti-collision, emergency alarms sounded and one pilot was ordered to take evasive action. The incident follows an air miss reported to the Civil Aviation Authority on December 3 involving an inbound Boeing 747 and an MD-80 heading for Madrid also at 10,000ft in the same Okham holding pattern above Woking in Surrey. During Tuesday's alert, the two aircraft involved were carrying a total of more than 300 passengers and crew when they were stacked up by delays due to congestion. The United Airlines flight was ordered to circle at a level of 10,000ft. Shortly afterwards the Air Canada 767 arrived and descended towards the same level. There were conflicting reports about whether the plane had been ordered to stay at 11,000ft. Air Canada, whose pilot will file a report to the CAA, said their flight crew understood that permission had been given to descend to 10,000ft. Commercial flights are normally required to be more than three miles apart horizontally or 1,000ft vertically. In Tuesday's incident the planes were believed to be at the same height and a little over a mile apart — which, the CAA accepted, would normally qualify as an air miss. The number of air misses has been declining, the CAA maintains. In the early 1980s, there was an average of about 60 incidents a year. But one of several pilots who overheard the incident, and declined to be identified, said: "The Okham holding pattern is like a Hyde Park corner race track with aircraft striding around it all the time." Air Canada said: "The aircraft were more than a mile apart. It's not being classified as an air miss."

## Factory staff told to look festive or lose seasonal bonus

AN engineering firm has ordered its staff to wear Santa Claus suits over the festive period — or risk losing their Christmas bonuses. The 29 employees at W Campbell & Son in Hull have been told to don the bright red floppy hats to get into the Christmas spirit. Employer Brian Campbell, who bought the hats, says they also keep employees' heads warm and save on heating bills. Only one person has refused to wear a hat. Mr Campbell said: "He claims it made his head tickle. I said if he didn't wear it he was going to lose his 5 per cent bonus, but it's a stupid way for him to really carry that one. The ribbing he's got from the lads is probably punishment enough." Mr Campbell, wearing a hat himself, added: "It looks like Santa's workshop in the passenger seat of a great way of lifting morale." Employee Steve Marshall said: "It's really good fun and people are taking it very well. It's a real laugh."

## 'Gang shot porn film' in Heathrow car park

Luke Harding

WHEN the erotic history of the 20th century is finally written, the names George Neale and Vincent Curran will surely deserve a special mention. On a chilly Thursday afternoon in November 1996, the couple arrived at the short stay car park of Heathrow Airport's Terminal 4 for arguably the most audacious porn shoot of modern times, a court heard yesterday. In front of a group of builders, Neale stripped off and spreadeagled himself over the bonnet of their silver Vauxhall car. Mr Curran, dressed in jeans and a white T-shirt, then engaged in what the prosecution yesterday described as "lewd and disgusting acts". Their performance in broad daylight was videotaped by a third man, Duncan Wright, while a fourth person, James Wright, stood lookout. The alleged shoot in the car park's dank and dreary level three, was interrupted when a cleaner stumbled upon them and informed his manager. Car park attendant Kareem Sulaiman raced down from the floor above to investigate, Isleworth crown court, west London, was told. "I saw the leg of a girl lying down on the bonnet of the car," he recounted. "She was lying on the bonnet with her two legs up," he told Justin Bearman, prosecuting. The judge, his Honour Fergus Mitchell asked what Curran was doing. "He was standing up," Mr Sulaiman replied. "It was immoral. It was out-



George Neale arriving for trial yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH: PETER MACDONALD

When questioned, cameraman Duncan Wright told officers he had come to Terminal 4 to film "The Builders". Neale, the 32-year-old star of the show, later denied in an interview at Heathrow Airport police station that he had performed a sex act on Curran and had sexual intercourse with him in broad daylight. "I would not get involved in anything like that," she told detectives. However police discovered a video cassette hidden behind the passenger seat of their car. The eight minute tape — which will be shown to the jury today — was sent to a Metropolitan police laboratory for analysis. Confronted with the explicit video footage, Curran gave "evasive" answers, it was claimed. Mr Bearman claimed the tape provided clear evidence that the defendants had outraged public decency. Under cross-examination from Curran's barrister, John Cunniff, Mr Sulaiman denied that he had enjoyed watching the performance and had been deliberately slow in informing his superiors. "I just walked towards them then went straight back to the office," he told the court. Neale, from Waltham Abbey, Essex, and Curran, aged 35, from Kingsheath, Northampton, both deny two counts of outraging public decency. James Wright, aged 20, from Wigston, Leicestershire and Duncan Wright, aged 30, from Radford, Coventry, both deny aiding and abetting the offences. The trial continues.

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## Russia's ailing president

## Chronicle of a heart condition foretold

UNTIL 1995 Mr Yeltsin denied he had serious health worries. Following is a chronology of his reported health problems.

- 1949-56: Plays volleyball every day and studies at night. Stress lands him in hospital, but he discharges himself. "I could have ruined my heart forever," he later writes.

- 1987: Taken to hospital with head and heart pains after being humiliated by Communist leadership. Treated for stress.
- 1990: Yeltsin's plane crash lands in Spain. Undergoes back operation.
- 1991: Ordered to rest after aides said he suffered minor ailments.
- Jan 1992: Fails to meet

- Japan's foreign minister. Aides quoted as saying he has heart condition; appears next day in good spirits.
- Apr 1992: Falls to meet US treasury secretary. He said he was working; media said he was drunk.
- Sep 1993: Suffers back pains, invites Spanish surgeon to Moscow.
- Apr 1994: Offers to

- undergo public check-up.
- Dec 1994: Has minor operation on his nose while Russian troops roll into Chechnya.
- Apr 1995: Spokesman says he has high blood pressure, causing muscle weakness.
- Jul 1995: In hospital, sanatorium for four weeks with ischaemic heart

- condition — blood supply problem.
- Oct 1996: Ischaemia recurs. More than two months in hospital and sanatorium.
- 1996: Launches vigorous (successful) campaign to win second term. Disappears from public view a week before end of campaign; aides say he has a sore throat.

- Aug 1996: Aide says Yeltsin is suffering from "colossal weariness" and needs two months of rest.
- Sep 1996: Says he will have heart surgery. Surgeon Renat Akhmetov expected to lead operation, says Yeltsin had unreported heart attack in June or July.
- Nov 1996: Successful

- quintuple heart bypass.
- Jan 1997: In hospital with pneumonia. Back in his office by end of February.
- Nov 1997: Surgeon has "no worries" about Yeltsin's health.
- Dec 10: Enters sanatorium with acute respiratory infection resulting from a cold.

## Cold comfort for political détente

Boris Yeltsin's illness has offered an unwelcome reminder of the fragility of his country's democratic institutions, writes James Meek in Moscow

THE machine was rolling again. Dark figures scurried across the snow-swept expanse of Red Square towards the gate beneath the clocktower, mobile phone aerials sprouting from beneath their fur hats.

Russia's commercial media were once more on the Kremlin briefing trail.

Leading the sparring with Boris Yeltsin's super-smooth sultan of spin, the press spokesman Sergei Yastrzhembsky, was Alexander Venediktov, chief commentator of the Echo Moskvy radio station.

After a few weeks in which it had begun to seem that a journalistically dull peace had descended on the habitually warring parliament and government, he was clearly enjoying himself. "We'll listen to Yastrzhembsky," he said. "And then we'll talk to our own sources."

For those outside the Kremlin press pack, the impact of President Yeltsin's illness on the truce between the Kremlin and parliament is a crushing reminder of the fragility of Russia's democratic institutions six years after the collapse of totalitarianism.

Until news of the president's hospitalisation leaked out yesterday afternoon the political elite was enjoying an eerie atmosphere of co-operation.

A financial crisis had been narrowly avoided. A few friendly gestures from Mr Yeltsin and a token shake-out of opposition hate figures had persuaded parliament to begin passing the budget. Moscow insiders had become so blasé about the president's recovery from heart surgery that the most likely successor to Mr Yeltsin seemed to be Mr Yeltsin himself.

The touchstone of the new

mood was to be an unprecedented round-table gathering today at which the president, the government and leaders of the main parties in parliament — including the communist Gennady Zyuganov and the ultra-nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy — would try to resolve an issue which has divided the country for centuries and led to civil war and famine: who should be allowed to own Russia's land?

Then the president caught a cold, and all plans and forecasts changed.

The round table is postponed indefinitely. The communist-nationalist opposition must now consider whether to take advantage of Mr Yeltsin's illness to renew their attack on the government's economic reform programme.

Meanwhile, the race to succeed Mr Yeltsin is on again — and it has never looked more wide open.

Even if the president, aged 66, recovers within 10 days, as forecast, doubts about his ability to run for a third term in 2000 — already a constitutionally doubtful move — will persist.

The prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin, has re-emerged as a serious candidate. A stodgy, unimaginative

figure, famously inarticulate in public because the impossibility of wearing a tie deprives him of his usual eloquence, he represents a bridge between radical economic liberals and the moderate communist-nationalists.

The liberals' champion, the young, pro-Western deputy prime minister, Boris Nemtsov, is still seen as Mr Yeltsin's chosen heir. But he has lost his shine with the public through over-exposure and association with the hated privatisation guru, Anatoly Chubais.

The electorate is disenchanted with the sluggish communist Mr Zyuganov, and the antics of the nationalist Mr Zhirinovskiy, leaving the huge patriot-conservative vote to Moscow's dirigiste mayor, Yuri Luzhkov, and the gravel-voiced De Gaulle manqué and former paratroop general, Alexander Lebed.

Although Messrs Chubais, Chernomyrdin and Nemtsov still enjoy extensive access to Mr Yeltsin, he has built an inner family circle around himself to ward off attempts to undermine his power. It centres on his daughter, Tatyana Dyachenko, and his close friend and head of his administration, Valentin Yumashev.



Boris Yeltsin is supported by Sweden's parliamentary speaker, Birgitta Dahl, in Stockholm last week. Aides said he was "tired" after a series of gaffes including mistaking his host country for Finland. PHOTOGRAPH: ALEXANDER ZEMLANCHENKO

## Football makers pledge to give child labour the boot

Suzanne Goldenberg reports from Sialkot on child labour in Pakistan's vast football-making industry

IN THIS chaotic industrial sprawl, the latest converts to "ethical business" are full of quiet pride. Sialkot's sporting-goods manufacturers, who produce more than half the world's footballs, including those used in the World Cup, are bearing the cost of ensuring that they are no longer made by children.

The venture by Save the Children Fund and other international agencies, which commits local business to a phased withdrawal of child labour, started in October.



A child worker stitches a ball in Sialkot, where firms now talk of "ethical business". PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL SHENDAN

Children were at work stitching footballs, the industry was so popular that people made the water tanks on top of their homes in the shape of footballs. Now the city's leading businessmen claim they are part of a worthy social experiment. "We are becoming an example for the entire world. They are already talking about the Sialkot model," said Mohammed Aslam Dar, president of the local chamber of commerce.

Sporting-goods makers are clamouring to join the child-free labour scheme to escape pressure from overseas buyers. Fifty-five firms have said they will only buy footballs produced under the programme.

In response, 31 Sialkot football makers — accounting for two-thirds of the 22 million balls stitched by hand here last year — have shelved out at least 100,000 rupees (£1,370) each to pay for monitoring teams from the International Labour Office to police the deal during the next 18 months.

Football stitching has transformed Sialkot since it produced the Tango ball for the 1982 World Cup, and the city is one of the most pro-

perous in Pakistan. Last year about 7.8 billion rupees of sporting equipment — gloves, and cricket bats as well as footballs — rumbled out on the pockmarked Grand Trunk road on gaudily painted lorries. Nearly three million items went to Britain, including brands such as Adidas, Mitre, Puma and Nike.

Almost all the footballs were made with the help of children at home or in dingy workshops in hundreds of villages around Sialkot.

The success of this project will become evident before next June's World Cup, when manufacturers are committed to guarantee that 25 per cent of their output is free of child labour. The International Development Secretary, Clare Short, promised the scheme £580,000 in October.

But the difficulties are apparent. In Raan, a village 10 miles from Sialkot, international pressure put Mohammed Ashraf out of a job a year ago when he was aged 12. "The contractors just stopped giving me work," he said.

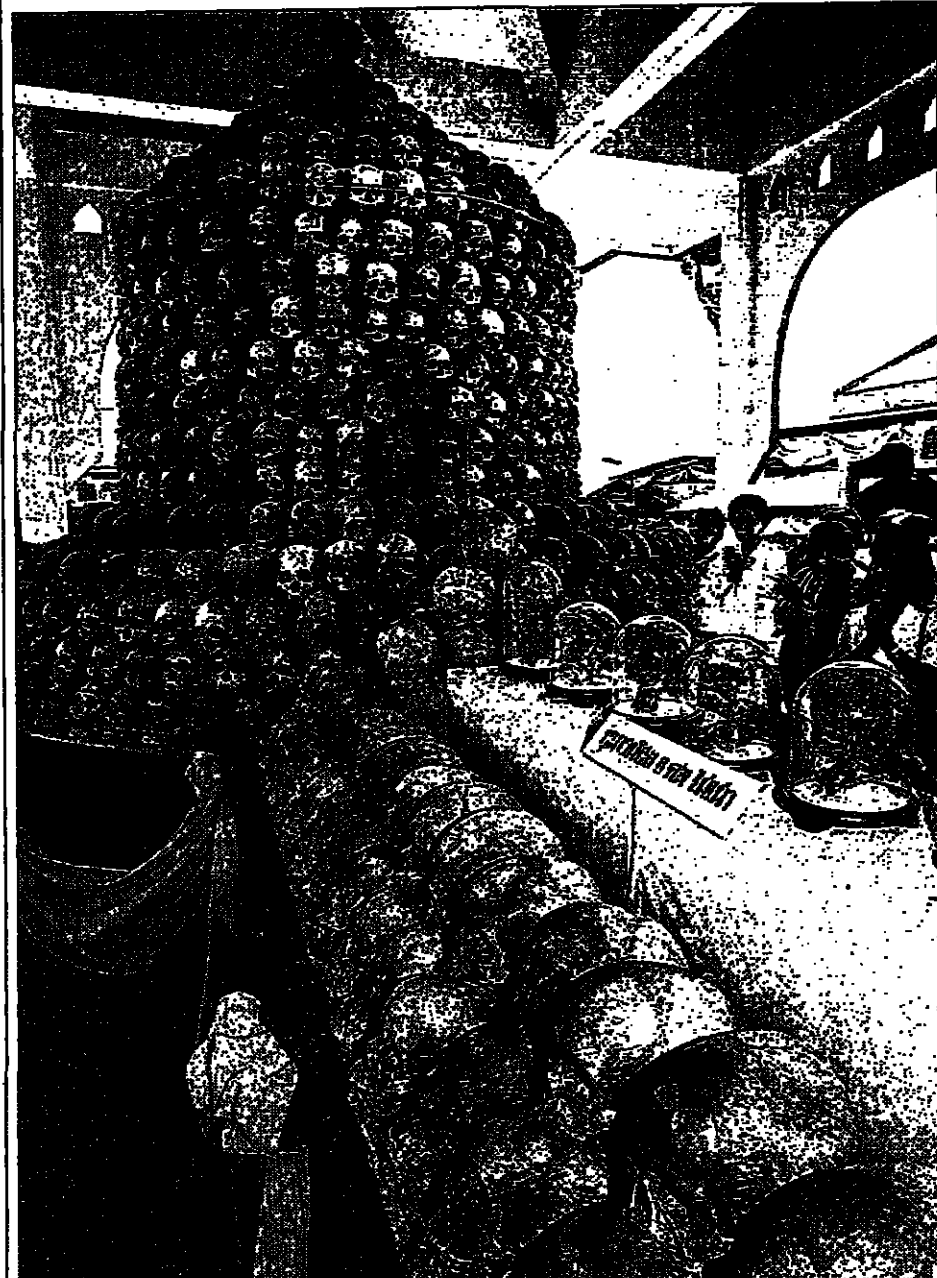
The eldest of eight children, he spent two years stitching footballs, crouched over wooden planks that hold the synthetic patches, arms fully extended, tugging the thread in opposite directions. "I never made the whole football, I was never strong enough to put the last panel on," he said.

Although he goes to school sometimes, his exit from football stitching forced him to work as a field hand.

Save the Children says the project's success will hinge on ensuring that families are not made worse off by losing the earnings of their children, or of women who may be reluctant to leave their homes for the larger (and more easily monitored) stitching centres envisaged by the project.

"There were no children in the factories, no children in the stitching centres. The children were working in their homes. We never knew the children were there, because they were working with contractors," said Khawaja Zaka-ud-Din, chairman of Capital sports, which produces Adidas.

For the last four years Zubeda Begum has been one of the hidden workers, stitching four balls a day in a bedroom. She earns 35 rupees a ball, which she sets aside for a dowry for her daughter Farveen, aged 12.



Thais in Samut Sakhon pray for the unclaimed remains of 21,347 people. The remains, gathered over 10 years by a voluntary foundation, will be buried next week in what is believed to be the world's biggest mass cremation. PHOTOGRAPH: PORNCHAI KITTHONGSAKUL

## Virus could be last Yahoo! for Internet as hackers demand release of prisoner

Marlin Kettle in Washington

MILLIONS of Internet users could face a Christmas computer nightmare if a claim by hackers to have planted a virus in one of the world's most popular search programmes is true.

On Monday night hackers broke into Yahoo!, one of the most used Internet search "engines", to demand the release of an imprisoned hacker, threatening to release a crippling virus if their demands were not met.

The California-based Yahoo! company said the threat was probably a hoax, but experts admitted that the danger was real and that the effects would be catastrophic for computer users and for the reputation of the Internet if it turned out to be true.

The hackers, calling themselves FANYS/HAGIS, gained access to Yahoo!'s World Wide Web site at about 10pm on Monday and left a digital ransom note saying: "For the past month, anyone who has viewed Yahoo!'s page and used their search engine, now has a logic bomb/worm im-

planted deep within their computer." It continued that on Christmas Day "the logic bomb part of this virus" will become active, wreaking havoc on the entire planet's networks.

The hackers said that an "antidote" programme would be made available if Kevin Mitnick was released from Los Angeles jail where he is facing trial on charges that he broke into the computer systems of cellular phone companies and stole telephone codes worth millions of dollars.

Mr Mitnick has been in prison for almost three years.

## World news in brief

## Korean peace talks off to good start

NORTH and South Korea, China and the United States said yesterday they had "successfully inaugurated" talks aimed at achieving peace on the peninsula 44 years after the Korean war.

The US assistant secretary of state, Stanley Roth, said the two-day session in Geneva had been "cordial and productive". A senior US official said it had "achieved a bit more than we might have expected".

Little had been expected from the talks. But the mere fact that South and North Korean diplomats faced each other was regarded as a breakthrough. — AP, Geneva.

## Cook stands firm on Rock

ROBIN COOK, Britain's Foreign Secretary, yesterday told the Spanish foreign minister, Abel Matutes, there could be no compromise on the sovereignty of Gibraltar against the wishes of the colony's inhabitants, and warned that Spanish pressure encouraged a siege mentality on the Rock.

According to Spanish sources, Mr Matutes suggested shared sovereignty over the British colony, combined with economic inducements and social benefits for the 30,000 residents.

A Foreign Office spokesman said Mr Cook was preparing new ideas to promote "confidence and trust" which included discussions with the neighbouring Spanish Campo region on economic and social issues. — Richard Norton-Taylor.

## Russians storm hijack plane

A HIJACKER claiming to be wired with explosives seized a Russian plane carrying 165 people yesterday before being captured when commandos stormed the plane at a Moscow airport.

All those aboard the Ilushin-62 airliner were released unharmed after being held hostage for more than three hours in the air and on the ground.

The 58-year-old man, from a town near Magadan in Russia's far east where the flight originated, demanded \$10 million (\$6 million) and passage to Switzerland, authorities said. — AP, Moscow.

## Japanese starve to death

AN ELDERLY Japanese woman and her middle-aged daughter starved to death as they waited for help from relatives, police said yesterday.

The mother, aged 75, and her 46-year-old daughter were found dead in their flat in Koriyama, 120 miles north-east of Tokyo, said police. They were discovered by relatives who visited the flat after receiving a letter asking for money. — AP, Tokyo.

## Kazakh capital relocates

THE little-known town of Akmol in northern Kazakhstan was officially inaugurated as the former Soviet republic's new capital yesterday. President Nursultan Nazarbayev moved to Akmol from the old capital Almaty on Tuesday.

Officials give various reasons for the choice of the windswept town. Some say power has been moved away from the Chinese border. Others point to Almaty's pollution and note that it is in an earthquake zone.

Privately, officials say the idea is also intended to secure the large country's north, which is populated mainly by Slavs rather than ethnic Kazakhs. Some Slavs would prefer closer ties with Russia. — Reuters, Akmol.

## Severance payback

A WOMAN may have been seeking to avenge a 14-year-old murder when she sliced off a man's penis after sex, police in Fairfield, California, said yesterday.

The woman reportedly made a statement implying she wanted revenge against the man, who was convicted of the 1983 murder of her friend.

Paramedics last week found Alan Hall, aged 48, on his front lawn. He and the severed organ were taken to a hospital, but surgeons were unable to reattach the penis. — Reuters, Fairfield.

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Tom Whitehouse in Kiev

HRYHORY SURKIS, president of Dynamo Kiev Football Club — who played Newcastle in the Champions League last night — is extending the borders of sports merchandising and corporate entertainment. Instead of selling videos, shirts and posters

he deals in grain, oil, gas and — allegedly — weapons.

The politicians he allows into the directors' box to bask in the glory of Dynamo's European success return the favour with a tax concession here and an import-export opportunity there. With parliamentary elections next March, they have everything to play for.

"I cannot imagine a government in Ukraine which would not direct the sympathies of its soul towards Dynamo Kiev, and this is the same towards today's government," says Mr Surkis, aged 48, a scar-faced, sharp-suited businessman.

"Things have been tough for the people since independence from the Soviet Union. We are the light at

the end of their tunnel and the government understands this."

Mr Surkis is one of the first businessmen in the former Soviet bloc to see the PR value of investing in sport. "The popularity he has won through Dynamo gives him cover for his semi-legal business operations," says a Kiev journalist.

With a place for Dynamo in the quarter-finals of the Champions League guaranteed, Mr Surkis has been quick to take political advantage. To consolidate his business success he has joined the opposition Social Democrats and is widely expected to stand for election as mayor of Kiev — a post which would protect him from legal scrutiny.

His record at Dynamo speaks for itself and will be persuasive in the city election next year. The murky business strategy he adopted since taking over the near-bankrupt club in 1993 — means he will not elaborate — to reject million-pound offers for its brightest stars from the likes of AC Milan and Manchester United.

They still worry about students at the center when the t



The Cambodian activist Tun Channareth, who lost both legs in a landmine explosion, accepted the Nobel peace prize in Oslo yesterday on behalf of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines. Jody Williams, the campaign's co-ordinator, will share the £650,000 prize with her organisation, which spent six years lobbying and managed to persuade 122 countries to sign a treaty in Ottawa banning landmines last week.

## Jackal has court on horns of dilemma

Carlos stages a curtain-raiser for his first trial for terrorism. Alex Duval Smith in Paris reports

CARLOS the Jackal, the international terrorist linked to the deaths of more than 80 people, yesterday provided a foretaste of the theatrics that are expected to dominate his first trial, starting tomorrow. In a separate court case, he had France's top lawyers arguing over whether the word *gnou* was insulting.

The dispute over the name for the South African wildlife beast in the Khosa click language arose from an incident at one of the French prisons in which he has been held since being brought from Sudan in August 1994. The 46-year-old Venezuelan, who comes to court tomorrow charged with the 1976 shootings in Paris of two French secret service agents, denied that in October 1986 he insulted a warder at La Santé with the words, *espèce de gnou* ("you gnou"). The alleged insult earned Carlos a suspended punishment of 10 days in a disciplinary cell.

Yesterday's case was the latest complaint brought by Carlos, real name Ilich Ramirez Sanchez, to highlight what he considers as his illegal detention in France after he was kidnapped from Sudan, not extradited.

At tomorrow's trial, the first ever related to his terrorist activities in the 1970s and 1980s, Carlos will face charges that he shot two French secret agents after they interrupted a South American political meeting at 9 Rue Toul-

lier in the Latin Quarter of Paris on June 27 1976. One agent died immediately alongside Michel Moukharbil, a Lebanese national who had apparently been brought to Rue Touliller by the French authorities to identify Carlos as a Palestinian terrorist. The second died years later. Carlos was found guilty in absentia in 1982.

At tomorrow's jury trial, which is expected to last a week, the prosecution will use evidence gathered in 1976 and read out at the 1982 trial. This has prompted claims from the defence that it will be a "paper trial", at which few or possibly no witnesses will be called.

But Carlos's plans for his defence remain a mystery. Yesterday Isabelle Coutant-Peyre, expected to be his chief lawyer, said she would argue that her client cannot be tried because he is being held illegally in France. But the European Commission of Human Rights has rejected Carlos's kidnapping complaint.

This leaves Carlos and Ms Coutant-Peyre — who will be assisted by a Lebanese and a

Venezuelan lawyer — to argue that the case cannot be heard because crucial elements are missing from the file on the Rue Touliller shootings. Indeed, the documents and witness interviews, some of which have been seen by the Guardian, are often incomplete or illegible due to poor photocopying. The investigating magistrate charged with drawing up the impartial dossier on Rue Touliller, Jean-Louis Bruguière, has also failed to call witnesses.

But the defence's main objective is to portray the trial as political. Ms Coutant-Peyre said: "Carlos is not a terrorist. He is a revolutionary communist and an internationalist communist. He is a political man."

"The shootings at Rue Touliller were part of manoeuvres by Mossad [the Israeli secret service] which discovered that France had a deal with the Palestine Liberation Organisation. Under this arrangement, France was allowed to act as a rear base for the PLO as long as no terrorist attacks were carried out here."

Mossad wanted to see Moukharbil out of the way and wanted to knock down Carlos.

She has asked the French court to call a former Mossad agent, Victor Ostrovsky, to give evidence. It is not clear whether Mr Ostrovsky, who lives in Canada, will be called. But in three years of investigations, Mr Bruguière did not interview him.

Mr Bruguière, who handles all terrorism cases in France, also has files open against Carlos on two bombings in central Paris in the mid-1970s and a rocket attack at Orly airport on an El Al aircraft.

Carlos is also believed to have been responsible for the 1981 shooting of Joseph Edward Stief, the late Marks & Spencer chairman, in London in 1973. Perhaps the most audacious attack of which he is accused is the 1975 kidnapping of 12 oil ministers in Vienna.

Even though British and Austrian police have interviewed him in France, neither is believed to be bringing charges.

Paris's administrative court yesterday rejected Carlos's appeal over the *gnou* insult.

## Neo-Nazis set up 'no-go' zones

ban districts, mainly in eastern Germany, triumphantly declared 'national liberated zones' by rightwing radicals. Foreign residents and visitors are advised not to leave their homes after dark.

According to officials, the report failed to mention what may be construed as incipient ghettoisation because it was brought to her attention too late for inclusion.

Her spokesman, Georgios Tsapanos, said he had seen secret neo-Nazi electronic

**The 'exclusion orders' apply not only to foreigners but to leftwingers, gays, drop-outs**

mailboxes proclaiming: "We are pleased to report today that such and such a club has now been liberated."

The exclusion orders applied not only to foreigners, but frequently to gays, leftwingers, drop-outs and others, he said, adding that researchers studying the problem had compiled a list of at least 28 towns and cities, mainly in the former East Germany, where the racist rules applied. "The fear and the pressure this puts on young foreigners is enormous," said Mr Tsapanos.

Ms Schmalz-Jacobsen said she was shocked to learn on Monday of the liberated zones. "There is xenophobia in other European countries. There is xenophobia in western Germany." But this is rather unique.

The interior ministers of the 16 German states recently warned of the growing threat of rightwing terror, and Mr Tsapanos said there were some 7,000 offences last year involving rightwing extremism — including Nazi sloganeering, which is banned in Germany. That represents a 10 per cent drop on the previous year's figures.

There were 11 race-related attempted murders, 307 assaults and 27 offences involving explosives and arson, mainly against immigrant hostels.

The German army is embroiled in its worst scandal of several years after a veteran neo-Nazi leader and convicted terrorist was invited to address officers at the country's most prestigious officer training academy.

The defence minister, Volker Rübe, has repeatedly claimed that neo-Nazi soldiers in the army are isolated incidents. Officials also maintain that racist violence has dropped sharply since a wave of extremist activity in 1992 following reunification.

But Mr Schmalz-Jacobsen made it clear that the foreigner-free zones were an alarming, comparatively widespread and growing phenomenon.

## Bosnian Serb leader threatened with sack

man collective Bosnian presidency and a headline nationalist who is a key aide of Radovan Karadzic. He joined all the other Serb delegates in walking out of yesterday's conference in protest at the international community's insistence on raising the incendiary issue of Kosovo.

Armed with sweeping new powers given to him by a two-day 50-country conference on Bosnia which ended yesterday in the German town of Bonn, Mr Westendorp said he would aim to impose agreements on the squabbling parties to the five-year conflict. He claimed the "turning point" had been reached in Bosnia.

The year ahead, climaxing in a post-Bosnian general election at the end of 1998, will decide whether the war-ravaged country will settle for a multi-ethnic democratic future or slide back into chaos, war and partition, Mr Westendorp said.

Mr Karadzic is the Serb representative on the three-

diverse as the composition of a central, ethnically mixed government, and the designs of a Bosnian national flag and passport.

At the deadlines pass without a deal, Mr Westendorp will overrule the Bosnian authorities and declare "interim solutions".

Armed with a tougher mandate which implies a degree of coercive back-up from Nato-led troops in Bosnia, Mr Westendorp hopes to build a free media, erode the power bases of nationalists on all sides, promote non-ethnic-

conservative circles around him are opposed to reforms sought by the president, Mohammed Khatami.

Suggestions had already surfaced, said Mr Yazdi, that democracy is a Western concept and majority decision-making un-Islamic. Mr Yazdi believes that freedom of speech and Iran's limited form of democracy is at stake.

## Iran hears message of tolerance from Annan

Students listened to Mr Annan in silence.

"When we speak of the right to life, development or to dissent and diversity, we are speaking of tolerance. Tolerance promoted, protected and enshrined will ensure all freedoms. Human rights, properly understood and justly interpreted, are foreign to no culture and native to all nations," the Ghanaian declared.

He quoted Islamic scholars, Confucius and Thomas Jefferson to illustrate the universal values of human rights, and added that the UN declaration itself had been drawn up by largely non-Western scholars. Iran and some other Muslim nations believe the declaration to be outdated and biased towards Western values. Iranian officials say the document needs to be re-written to encompass their values, though as yet none of the officials has identified the specific articles objected to or what is meant by Islamic human rights.

The debate comes at a time when Iranian opposition politicians are predicting an imminent backlash from conservative clerics.

"Iran is at a turning point. There are fears that the right-wing may try to stimulate a wave of suppression so that they will have an excuse for further crackdowns," said Ibrahim Yazdi, the leader of Iran's banned Freedom Movement.

Recent weeks have seen a wave of suppression of clerical opponents who have voiced criticism of the powers of the country's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei. Conservative circles around him are opposed to reforms sought by the president, Mohammed Khatami.

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## Grandads' army goes to school

John Hooper in Rome

NAPLES council has decided to pay old men to hang around outside school gates. And the aim is to ward off paedophiles.

A Grandads' army of 500 pensioners has been formed with the help of voluntary organisations in the city. Earlier this week its first recruits took up position outside kindergartens and primary and secondary schools, sporting armbands proclaiming them to be *nonni civici* or "civic grandfathers".

Mario Melluso, head of one of the organisations involved, said: "The volunteers have precise instructions — to notify the police or those of us at the organisation of any strange or questionable behaviour."

The silver-haired vigilantes, who are to be paid

## News in brief

**Botha risking jail — Mandela**

P. W. Botha, the former South African president, faces prosecution if he fails to appear before the truth commission, said President Nelson Mandela yesterday.

Mr Botha has refused to appear, calling the commission a circus and a witch hunt against apartheid leaders. Anyone refusing to obey a subpoena can be charged with contempt and punished with a fine and up to two years in prison. — AP.

## Help for tapir

The World Conservation Union yesterday launched a campaign to save the tapir, or jungle horse, from extinction. The group called for measures including an end to hunting, effective management of tapir populations in protected areas, and controlled trade in live tapirs and tapir meat and skins. — Reuters.

## Boy torches brother

A 13-year-old Malaysian boy doused his elder step-brother with paraffin and set him on fire after bickering over which television programme to watch, a local daily reported yesterday. Tee Hock Chong, aged 17, suffered serious burns. — AP.

## Hatred charges

Canadian authorities yesterday charged eight people with promoting hatred in connection with a protest in August against Gypsies who fled the Czech Republic. About 20 protesters had marched waving a swastika flag and carrying signs reading: "Rokk if you hate Gypsies." — AP.

## Dope delivery has MPs fuming

Jon Hanley in Paris

FRENCH MPs were fuming yesterday after a pro-cannabis campaign group sent all 577 national assembly deputies a neatly rolled joint through the post and a letter demanding the relaxation of some of the harshest drug laws in Europe.

"You will find in this package a small joint, that is to say a hand-rolled cigarette containing a mixture of tobacco and cannabis," wrote the Cannabis Information and Research Collective.

"Nurtured and cosseted by enthusiasts, this cannabis, raised under the sweet skies of France, has been generously donated by growers to give to you."

The deputies would now be in the same position as the many thousands of their fellow citizens who have illegally rolled and shared a joint, the letter continued.

A law that is broken daily by hundreds of thousands of people is a dangerous and useless law," it said. "It is time for the state to stop treating cannabis enthusiasts like delinquents."

Conservative politicians were unimpressed by the gesture, which came two days before the opening of a national drug abuse conference called by the leftwing health minister, Bernard Kouchner.

"It's a cheap, irresponsible and illegal stunt," said a spokeswoman for the Gaullist RPR party.

Kathy Evans in Tehran

THE United Nations secretary-general, Kofi Annan, yesterday marked the 50th anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights by telling an audience at Tehran University that human rights was not a Western concept but was "native to all nations".

The venue was appropriate. The university has been the theatre of the battle for freedom of speech in Iran.

Earlier this year, regime thugs known as the Ansar Hizbullah raided and ransacked a campus auditorium where students were gathering to hear a popular professor, Abdul Karim Suroosh, outline his ideas that religion was a personal, private affair, and no business of the government. For that, and many other ideological sins, Prof Suroosh is banned from teaching or making public appearances.

Mr Butler is to meet Iraqi officials in Baghdad over the weekend. Iraqi claims had led to "an expanding number of sites which are potentially off-limits to us and it is precisely that problem we have to solve," he said after talks yesterday in London with Robin Cook, the foreign secretary.

He said he would be talking in Baghdad about getting "full access... but in a way that shows respect for Iraqi national security and for the places where the president and his entourage live".

## New clash with Saddam over weapons checks

Richard Norton-Taylor

UNITED NATIONS weapons inspectors appeared to be heading for a new confrontation with Iraq last night as Baghdad insisted they were to be banned from about 60 "presidential sites".

The ultimatum was issued as Richard Butler, chairman of the UN special commission (UNSCOM) responsible for dismantling Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, said his inspectors had the right to "go anywhere at any time".

Students listened to Mr Annan in silence.

"When we speak of the right to life, development or to dissent and diversity, we are speaking of tolerance. Tolerance promoted, protected and enshrined will ensure all freedoms. Human rights, properly understood and justly interpreted, are foreign to no culture and native to all nations," the Ghanaian declared.

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Asked if military action would be an appropriate response if UN inspectors were banned from sites they believed contained mass destruction weapons, Mr Cook replied that Iraq had to be brought to understand that the UN security council had insisted UNSCOM's return to the country was unconditional.

"Iraq must fully comply with its obligations to give UNSCOM... unrestricted access to all sites, including the so-called sensitive sites," Mr Cook said.

## Trading self-indulgence

Kyoto needs a big change in attitudes to growth

THE KYOTO conference has teetered to the edge of agreement on global warming in a manner which whatever the result inspires no confidence at all. This was supposed to be a new approach to a new world issue in the inclusive spirit of the Rio conference five years ago. Instead we have seen the same old divisions setting developed nations against the developing, with the same last minute concessions and late night fudges. The result, assuming it can be pinned down and ratified, is acknowledged on all sides to be only a tentative stab at tackling a problem already soaring out of control. All concerned, including most environmental lobbyists, say that a defective accord is better than none. Wearily we must accept the logic of this argument. The question remains whether, a few years down the road, such a spatchcock agreement will have made any significant difference at all.

In the age of wall-to-wall marketisation, it is no surprise that market economics loom so large in the proposed solution. The key to success or failure now lies with the emission trading plan which held up agreement last night. Without it, the US would not have agreed to any reduction of 1990 emission levels by the year 2012. This much-advertised concession was only offered in the last 48 hours after Vice-President Al Gore had descended on Kyoto to promise "increased flexibility." It has already resulted in the EU's own targets being lowered. Their original proposal for 15 per cent cuts has been euphemistically adjusted to "match" the US offer. This may still be a necessary compromise to achieve agreement across the field — but will it be a level emitting field?

The theory behind emissions trading is that since global warming is a worldwide phenomenon, a net reduction counts the same wherever it may be

achieved. A power plant in the EU could claim a credit for helping another plant somewhere in Eastern Europe to clean up its emissions. The atmosphere would still gain. On a much larger scale, the US could subsidise its high level of emissions by helping China to tackle its own huge emerging problem. The balance sheet would still be improved. But in practice it won't be so simple. There will be a temptation to exaggerate the level of potential pollution so that higher credits can be earned. There is a risk of double-counting if existing pollution deficits are traded. Why should one country be allowed to emit more because another has suffered a recession and is emitting less? A global scheme of this kind will be unwieldy and open to abuse.

The main objection however is one of principle: emissions trading will be seen as a device by which the richest countries who are now being asked to exercise voluntary restraint over their new (and potentially more polluting) industries. Their opposition last night to wording on voluntary participation was directly linked to criticism of the trading option, and fears that developed countries would simply buy their way out of reductions. The message which it conveys is one of self-indulgence rather than self-restraint. This inability of rich societies to throttle back their all-consuming appetites — and the negative example which this sets to the emerging rich elsewhere — is at the heart of the problem. The energy lobby in the US, with its 15-mile-to-the-gallon culture, only carries a general view to its flamboyant conclusion. The ultimate fate of any agreement in Kyoto depends on a much more fundamental change in attitudes to growth and consumption.

## An utterly perverse coalition

Labour's squeeze on lone parents made a depressing sight

THERE were some strange role reversals in Westminster last night. Conservative MPs were on their feet attacking the Government for hurting the poorest in society. Labour members hit back, insisting on the importance of work, work, work. Tories denounced the Government for a policy they themselves had invented, while Labourites had to defend a plan they once opposed — and which many, in their hearts, still did. The whole surreal drama ended with the official Opposition voting for the Government, with the main opposition coming from the Government's own benches.

The cut to lone parents' benefits triggered not just Tony Blair's worst day in the Commons since taking office, but a hint of a bleak realignment of British politics. On show yesterday was not the centre-left alliance which so excites Roy Jenkins, but a coalition of Conservatives and Labour. Yesterday's vote looked a lot like the first act of a new National Unity Government of the right, with only the Liberal Democrats and assorted Labour rebels in the cold. It made a depressing sight — a Labour government not content with freezing or phasing out benefits for Britain's neediest, but actively cutting them, by up to £11 a week. The long faces on the Government side were all too visible. Clare Short, carefully placed at the Prime Minister's right to provide a woman-friendly TV image, could barely conceal her discomfort. Had she and the other 417 Labour MPs really waited 18

long years for this? New Labour's anxiety to appear fiscally prudent had led them to endorse a policy even Conservatives admitted was excessive. In their desperation to appear hard-headed, this Government looked plain hard-hearted.

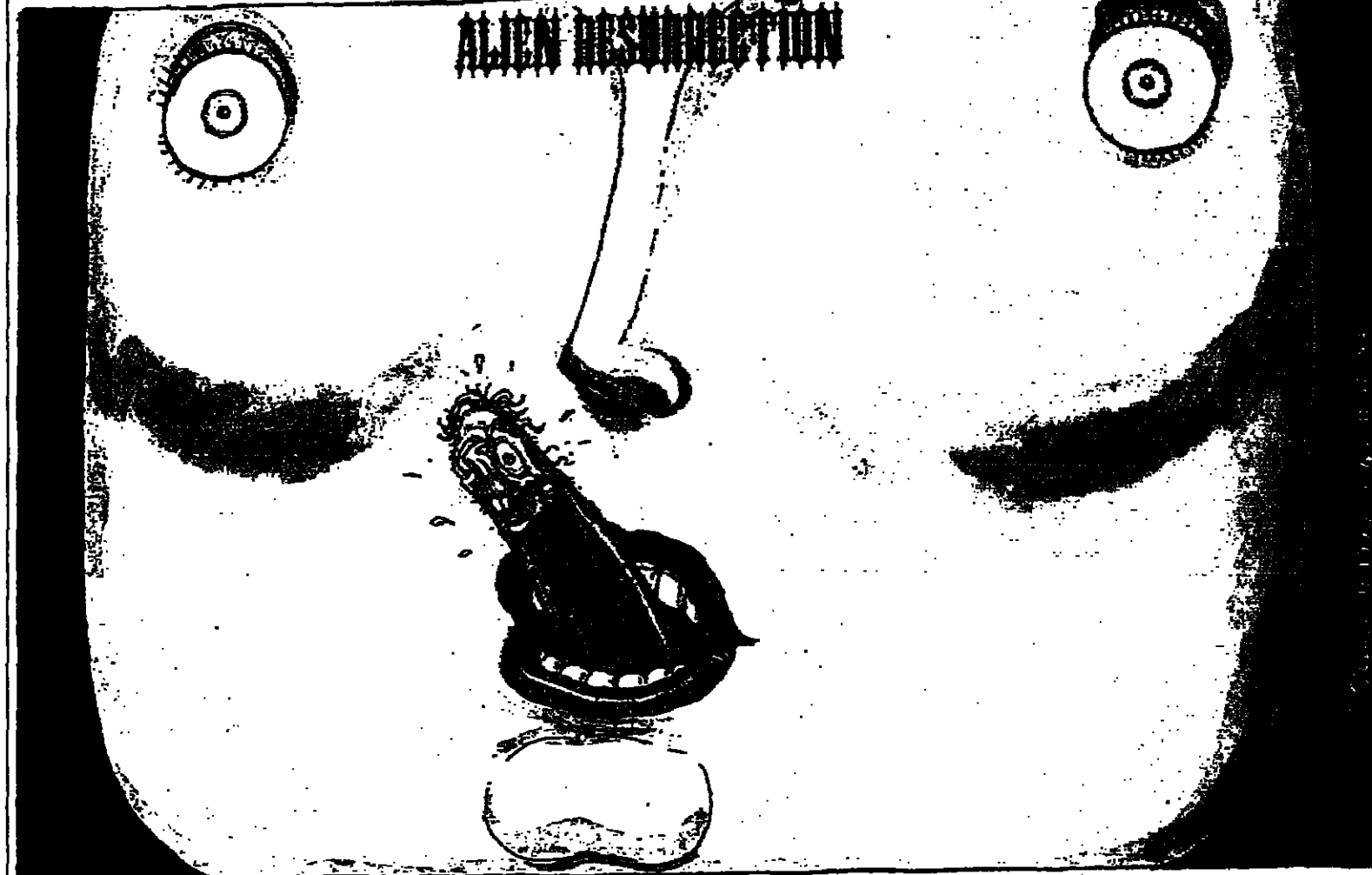
There's little point rehearsing the arguments against the measure. Labour will have heard them all day from the single mothers demonstrating outside Parliament, and the thousands of others who telephoned their anger into radio call-in shows and constituency offices. But the party and others should not imagine this episode is safely behind them. Government whips should now recognise they can only push their previously-tame flock of MPs so far. They have seen that the left is not just a ragtag bunch, consisting of a few relics from the past — although Tony Benn distinguished himself by voting against a Labour government for the first time in 50 years. Instead the dissidents can muster a decent number. Party managers should also now realise that patronage cannot buy off everyone. The Guardian congratulates Malcolm Chisholm, Gordon Prentice and the others who put principle before promotion. Those who voted against the Government, despite a Labour rule which leaves them vulnerable to de-selection, deserve equal praise for their courage. But Labour should also look beyond Westminster, at the people who voted for them because they expected better. They are Labour's base, and this morning they are gravely disappointed.

## Invoking the right to die

Surely it's better done in the open than covertly

EUTHANASIA was overwhelmingly rejected by MPs yesterday. Joe Ashton's 10 minute rule bill to test parliamentary opinion was rejected by 234 to 89 votes. The Oxford Dictionary may define euthanasia as "bringing about a gentle and easy death especially in the case of an incurable and painful disease" but MPs remain unconvinced. Joe Ashton has spoken eloquently of his mother who took "seven long and terrible years" to die from Parkinson's disease. The Labour MP believes terminally ill patients should have the right to die with dignity at a time of their own choosing when they can no longer bear their pain and suffering. Social attitude surveys suggest he has the support of over 80 per cent of the public but MPs have always been more wary. Instead they will have a chance to look at a more watered-down version first drafted by the Law Commission. The Lord Chancellor published a green

paper yesterday which examines, among other issues, the question of who should take decisions about medical treatment once a patient is no longer capable of taking decisions — through a brain disease or other disorder. Case-law has already validated living wills (advanced directives under which people set out clear instructions for their medical treatment including the circumstances they would want life-support systems switched off). But case-law is a poor way of establishing social legislation. The Tony Blair case established the right of doctors to withdraw artificial feeding pipes from irreversibly damaged patients but doctors are still not allowed to speed up death through drugs. Morally, what is the difference? Surveys have shown that doctors are ready, at the request of their patients, to take active steps to end life. Shouldn't it be open and regulated rather than covert and unofficial?



## Letters to the Editor

From the naff to the nihilist

NOT only do you print an article which gives the impression that a New Yorker wants to teach us Brits our own vernacular (*The joys of Briddish*, 22 December 9), but Philip Weiss then has the sheer gall to Americanise one of our most picturesque terms. I ask you — "asshole!" "Ass" has a long, distinguished and entirely legitimate linguistic pedigree, unlike the pussyish Yankee euphemism "ass". When those of us who care about English drink too much, we're proud to get asloled, not assloled. For the chippy tosser Weiss to suggest otherwise is irredeemably naff and a cock-up of the first water. Frankly, I'm gobsmacked.

ASHAME the more accurate obituary to Woodrow Wyatt was found in Mark Steele's column (*People always die under socialism*, December 9). Those of us unfortunate enough to work for the Tories in the late seventies remember not someone "popular with the staff", rather a buffoon who was met with ridicule and whose laughable attempts to use the office telephone became legendary.

Richard Neville,  
18 Dunraven Street,  
London W1T 3BE.

JIM White should stay in *Umores* (Never mind the game or fans as long as TV thrives, December 9). Sport as a spy marketing tool is a logical development for a materialistic society where conspicuous consumption is the real match of the day. The introduction of 24-hour TV sport has transformed my household. Once a week my children give me an edited video of their growing-up and I always wish them goodnight on our mobiles. Meanwhile, my punch should keep me warm in old age and my lungs belong to Formula One. Sport has always been good for you, but it is now even better for the media, the Exchequer and one nihilist it barely conceals.

Patrick Browne,  
6 North Parade,  
Lincoln LN1 1LB.

THE "fully-modernised Christianity" for which Don Cumit calls (*Face to Faith*, December 6) calls — stripped of all hierarchy and of the obligation to be constricted by ancient notions of revealed truth — already exists in the form of the Unitarian movement. For us, practising democratic decision-making is as much a religious matter as prayer or meditation. It will come as no surprise, perhaps, that Unitarians were among the founders of The Guardian.

Matthew F Smith,  
Information Officer,  
Unitarian HQ,  
1-6 Essex Street,  
London WC2R 3EY.

HENRY Kissinger gets quite a slagging-off by Francis Whelan (*Whelan's World*, December 10). But Francis forgot to mention the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to Kissinger. Surely one of the most grisly misuses of this award in recent history.

Mike Mitchell,  
10 Devon Road,  
Manchester M20 5NR.

YOU describe the health white paper as "far more radical than it might seem" (*New Labour's healthy third way*, December 10). This is indeed true. If the previous government had announced a scheme in which GP fundholding would be compulsory rather than voluntary, it is easy to guess at the reaction from the medical community. The introduction of budgetary discipline for all GPs has been too long in the making. Similarly, too many health authorities have been able to sustain their own historic roles by using their powers to block innovation in the local NHS.

Whilst Primary Care Groups covering 10 GP practices may often be too large to be effective, and a statutory duty of co-operation may not be appropriate to professions that respond better to carrots than sticks, the white paper does leave scope for smaller groups within groups to continue to innovate for better patient care.

The internal market never achieved the level of competition that is often ascribed to

it. The better use of cost and quality performance measures and the better-informed purchasing that will result should improve the operation of the internal market, not destroy it.

For patients, the "new" NHS is much like its predecessor, but perhaps the white paper would have been better titled "the new internal market".

Tony Hoekley,  
Director, Policy  
Analysis Centre Ltd,  
17 Hyde Park Square,  
London W2 2JR.

NHS Direct, the 24-hour telephone hotline that

will be set up to give medical advice to callers could be provided to the NHS by organisations such as St John Ambulance as a fraction of the cost of establishing a new service from scratch. And there would be no need to recruit qualified nurses at a time when NHS trusts throughout the country experience great difficulty in recruiting suitably qualified staff for their normal activities.

St John Ambulance already has the infrastructure throughout England and Wales to provide such a service and can call upon both salaried and volunteer doctors and nurses. This is just

one area in which the voluntary agencies could help the NHS to concentrate on the core activities, and to provide additional services without incurring further calls for funding.

Lewis Martin,  
Executive director,  
St John Ambulance,  
1 Grosvenor Crescent,  
London SW1X 7EP.

IT IS nice to see that the Secretary of State for Health is proposing to save £4,000 or "the cost of a hip replacement or up to eight cataract operations", by not sending lots of unnecessary Christmas cards this year (*The season to be cruel*, December 9).

Would Mr Dobson also like to tell us whether this saving (presumably to some central administrative budget) will actually be translated into an additional hip replacement or some cataract operations — and if so, in which health district (how selected?) and how soon?

John Foster,  
Wood House,  
Hallbankgate,  
Cumbria CA8 2NJ.

THESE CHANGES IN YOUR INTERNAL MARKET... HOW WILL THEY AFFECT INTERNAL PROBLEMS?

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## Diary

Matthew Norman

A N outbreak of what (on finding a Citroen XCV parked in his skip) Victor Meldrew once called "the sheer, bloody-minded soddiness" of human existence afflicts Richard Wilson. Each year, Mr Wilson holds a rather glam, actorly New Year's Eve party, but this one is causing him angst. On learning that Nicholas De Jongh, the Evening Standard's excellent theatre critic, would be there, Anthony Sher has refused to attend, leaving Mr Wilson in a race against time to find a compromise. There is a chink of light. "I may go and I may not," says Nick, nobly. "I don't want to cause Richard embarrassment. It's all very difficult." Nick dates the feud to a review of Tamburlaine a few years ago, "when I slightly poked fun at some athletic tricks," while he was not gushing about Mr Sher's recent Cyrano. If anyone can take it, Nicholas is a genius at the theatrical feud, he has been assailed by Jonathan Pryce in Dickens & Jones, threatened with murder by Stephen Berkoff, and banished by John Osborne, posthumously, from his memorial service.

A LITTLE spat has broken out between two of the brightest young things. After a Diary suggested that Dolly Draper and his fellow Spectator diarist Lauren Booth, Cherie's half sister, had known her intimacy, Lauren countered by saying that "his unhealthy appetite for procuring column inches from impressionable young men in the media is second only to his amusing capacity for self-delusion." Ouch. "Yes, I am furious that my privacy has been invaded," Dolly told us yesterday. "I will not be used as a pawn in a media game I don't understand." But does he have any idea who might have given my so-called rival the story? Ha ha. No idea at all.

M Y old friend Michael Winner has assuaged wounded Diary feelings after his Christmas card failed to arrive. Indeed, when we rang to complain, Michael was horrified. Having started his tape recorder (and wisely so, you never know when a Christmas card enquiry might land you in the libel courts), he insisted that one had been sent, and clearly remembered signing it. Yesterday, another "Second card BY COURIER!" - did come, and splendid it is too. Last year's, you may recall, had a portrait of Michael on the front, and another portrait of Michael on the back, but in 1997 his natural modesty has reassessed itself. This time the portraits are of people - John Cleese and Joanna Lumley among them - involved in his nameless new film. It is signed "I'm Michael", and this emotion we are pleased to return.

A LSO sending out their Christmas cards are the TV's The Hamiltons, and in its way Neil and Christine's is even grander than Michael's. It is last year's House of Commons card, with the portraits and the letters "MP" crossed out.

AFTER the warm reception accorded Tuesday's story from the Massachusetts Bar Journal (Simon Stanley liked it so much, he sent an e-mail demanding my sacking), here is another snippet of cross-examination recently heard in New England. Just for you, Simon, it too involves a post-mortem. "Do you recall the time that you examined the body?" asked the attorney. "The autopsy started at 8.30pm." "And Mr Dennington was dead at the time?" "He replied the pathologist, "he was sitting on the table wondering why I was doing an autopsy."

MORE by luck than judgment, no pathologist will come to the stand in the case soon to begin in Winnipeg, where Brother Eric Metivier, 28, has been charged with aggravated assault. Metivier stabbed Bro Fermand Bremond several times, the Fort Times reports, after a fight erupted at their monastery near Manitoba. How the fight began remains obscure, and may remain so even in court. Brothers Bremond and Metivier are Trappists.

NO FIRE, IVE SOLD OUR POLLUTION QUOTA TO THE USA.



# Euro-X marks the spot of incredulity

## Commentary

### Hugo Young

N O ONE doubts that Tony Blair wants to have more intimate and constructive relations with Europe than any prime minister since Ted Heath. According to his own rhetoric, his ambition is to be, variously, "a" or "the" leader of the European Union. This is said with much sincerity, and itemised among the five things New Labour people are instructed to care most about. It faces its first serious test this weekend. Most of the signs suggest the result will put in question the tactics, and even the strategy, Mr Blair has adopted for his purpose. It could be a rather dismal prelude to the British presidency of the EU, which starts next month.

Running up to the Luxembourg summit, Britain continues to press for full membership of Euro-X, the committee that will run the single currency of which, Gordon Brown announced six weeks ago, sterling would not be an early member. Though

rebuffed by the future club members, Blair and Brown have pressed on, and will do so up to the summit door. This cannot be because they expect to win the argument. The core tasks Euro-X sets itself cannot engage those who keep out of the euro, much though the outsiders will be affected. Interest rates, the euro's external exchange rate, future rates at which new currencies join: these are club matters, and as Lionel Jospin witheringly told the Financial Times this week, "the UK, which invented clubs, should not complain about being excluded". The idea that the finance ministers of the 10 or 11 joiners could somehow be prevented from meeting, under EU auspices, because Britain was excluded is an absurdity for which the Major period was rightly despised both at home and abroad.

Mr Blair's main concern is about face. Having made his demand, he doesn't want to emerge defeated. This was the message Jean-Claude Juncker, the able Luxembourg prime minister, took away from Downing St on Tuesday. Mr Juncker has to produce the solution, and Blair fears the exploitation of Tory and media Euro-phobes will make of Britain's exclusion a defeat. Face-saving formulae are flying round. One proposes a distinction between the "pre-ins" (UK and Greece)

and the real ones (Sweden and Denmark), giving the former more access. Laid on top of this are agenda categories that would let Britain into the room for part of the time. It will be surprising if some such deal doesn't emerge in Luxembourg, and astounding if it is not hailed as a mighty victory by the spin-commissioners in London. In truth, however, it won't mark a triumph so much as the first shadow of continental doubt about whether Britain knows what she is doing. There is something deeply unsophisticated about a country trying to strong-arm its way into a club whose terms of membership it has refused to sign. While Mr Brown thought he was taking a massive stride on 27 October, when he said Britain would prepare for entry some day, that's not the way it struck everyone in Europe who saw it, with scarcely contestable accuracy as one more episode in the history of British hesitation, now capped by the unprecedented demand to have a determining influence on the project even from beyond the walls. When we hadn't signed the Treaty of Rome, at least we were decent enough not to act as if we had.

There's a disjunction between rejecting EMU now and the larger plan for leadership in Europe. That's another thing that may begin to darken the gleaming official welcome every country in the

EU gave Mr Blair's election victory. Depressed or enraged by a Tory government over which Bill Cash held veto power, the other member states have so far given Blair the benefit of every doubt, a stance that won't be abandoned yet. Blair has a stronger political base than any of them, and besides, as president for the next six months, he's about to be the key hars-gain-maker in the copious dossier on the table.

But this "leadership" is a dubious concept. It pretends that Britain can leap with a single bound from the awkward squad to the reviewing stand. Between this country's long record of tenaciously aberrant membership, and its future ambition to set a path for the whole EU, there stands an unavoidable period of probation to establish proof of good behaviour. So, at any rate, it must be seen from the chancelleries of the continent, which cannot be expected to

Mr Blair's main concern is about face. Having made his demand, he doesn't want to emerge defeated

take with unfailing acquiescence some of the leadership lectures they are given from London. The most recent of these was delivered a week ago by Mr Brown to the British-American Chamber of Commerce in New York. Read by a mainland European, Brown's words must have seemed breathtaking in their presumption, reassuring Americans that, in New Labour's hands, the continent was finally learning some lessons

## COMMENT AND ANALYSIS 9

# Forgotten gems of the unbuilt environment



David McKie

THE DECISION on whether to fund Richard Rogers's multi-million pound plans to enclose the South Bank Arts Complex under one great roof, over which the Arts Council was anguishing yesterday, belongs to a high tradition of make-or-break verdicts on architects' plans which have led to the building of much which would have been better unbuilt, while demoting much that was innovative and daring to the ranks of the unbuilt environment.

Summon to mind the noble sweep of Oxford High Street from Magdalen Bridge to the Carfax, with its sense of unchanging values and the way things have always been... Pure illusion, I fear. Seduced by familiar landmarks, the memory edits out the undistinguished, the second-best, and here and there, even the tawdry, and makes one forget that it might not have been like this at all; might indeed have been far more distinguished - especially if they'd listened to Nicholas Hawksmoor.

Until December 20, the RIBA is staging an exhibition at its Heinz Gallery in Portman Square of what might have been Hawksmoor's Oxford. For every plan that succeeded (like the north quadrangle of All Souls) or appeared, like the Radcliffe Library, in forms which others had modified, there's a wealth of proposals here not only unbuilt but in some cases never considered. Had Hawksmoor had his way, Magdalen itself, and Queen's, and All Souls, and Brasenose would have been radically different. That wasted opportunity, the Carfax, where the university meets the town, would have been a high ceremonial moment in the sequence of the city.

without millions to the wind-down". But his backers, like Pugin himself, were Catholics, and to let him rebuild the college seemed to much of the Balliol common room likely to constitute a triumph for Romanism. In the end, the Master, citing the college statutes, and the obligations imposed on him by the oath he had taken on being elected Master, effectively vetoed any employment of Pugin. But the best, the noblest, and also the wildest examples of our unbuilt environment are inevitably London's. Twenty-five years ago that excellent institution the Guildhall Library put on an exhibition of the London That Might Have Been; later a book on this theme was produced by the film critic and London historian Felix Barker, who died this summer, and Ralph Hyde. By comparison with some of the schemes that never got built, Richard Rogers's plans for the Roof and the Dome seem skulkingly timid. Here are vast triumphal avenues marching across the capital, leaving misty trails of devastation behind them. Christopher Wren proposed two, from Fleet Street to Algate and the Tower to St Paul's - a church, by the way, which would have even more had they chosen the scheme he preferred to his milder version which they actually built. (The Dean and Chapter judged Wren's Great Model unsuitable for their observances.) Others proposed vast embankment roads, from the Tower to Westminster or even as far as Kew. There were plans to build a highway down the middle of the Thames, and later to do the same with a railway.

THERE were schemes for extravagant palaces both for the King (especially during the reign of George IV) and for the Parliament. In 1793, James O'Connell planned a mighty royal palace close to Westminster, stretching almost from the river into St James's Park. We have only the Banqueting House, which may have been part of his grander design, to show for it. Among many grander schemes to rebuild the Houses of Parliament before the fire of 1834 made it inevitable was one which would have demolished both Westminster Hall and Westminster Abbey. Those who had planned this century of airports to serve the city were no less fantastical. Among the illustrations in Barker and Hyde is a plan to build an aerodrome in the shape of a wheel on the roof of King's Cross Station, each spoke of the wheel being a runway half a mile long. A shame that they seem to have missed the equally wacky proposal for an airfield on Charing Cross station, built on a turntable which its managers would revolve to take account of prevailing winds...

# Banned by Betty

While the Prime Minister lets Sinn Fein MPs across the No 10 threshold today, the Speaker still bars them from Parliament. Ewen McCaskill says she's making a big mistake

THE refusal by the Speaker, Betty Boothroyd, to allow Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness access to Westminster reflects worse on Parliament than it does on the two Sinn Fein MPs. The excuse for barring them is their refusal to swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown.

The two MPs can go to Downing Street today but they cannot, even though elected, have use of the facilities of Parliament. The oath is out of date and in need of reform. About a third of MPs, most of them Labour, do not believe in the monarchy but go through the hypocrisy of swearing the oath so they can take their seats.

MPs have a choice of two oaths, one that includes God and one for agnostics and atheists that does not. Common to both is a promise to be "faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, her heirs and successors, according to law". Tony Benn, when taking the oath on May 8 this year, prefaced it by saying: "As a committed republican, under protest, I take the oath required of me by law, under

the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1865, to allow me to represent my constituency." He then took the oath. The Scottish National Party MP, Roseanna Cunningham, belongs to a party that wants to break up the United Kingdom and is personally opposed to the monarchy, but she too has to take the oath or he decides a seat. The Welsh nationalists, Plaid Cymru, unlike the SNP, is a republican party but its MPs too have to take the oath. MPs are being forced through a process that makes hypocrites of many of them.

The oath has been changed before. In the past, Roman Catholics, Jews and atheists were excluded from Parliament at a time when the Protestant faith was a requirement for those who were elected. In the 19th century, Charles Bradlaugh, an atheist, refused to swear the oath, was expelled, re-elected, expelled and re-elected again, when finally and reluctantly he agreed to take the oath. Mr Benn himself introduced a short bill in 1988 proposing to change the oath to "I do solemnly declare and affirm that I will, to the best of my ability, discharge the responsibilities required of

me by virtue of my membership of the House of Commons and faithfully serve those whom I represent here". That is modern and sensible, and Mr Adams and Mr McGuinness could easily take it.

The two MPs see Tony Blair at Downing Street today, a symbolic and historic occasion: the first talks at Number 10 between Irish republican leaders and a British prime minister since those with Michael Collins in the 1920s. It is important, and another step along with the talks in Castle Buildings at Belfast, towards a peace settlement. By comparison, access to Westminster is much less significant. Even if the oath were changed, the pair probably would not speak in the Commons anyway, not least because their followers would not allow it. But they would be able to have offices at Westminster and the whole range of other facilities. Any move towards normalisation, anything that draws them in, engages them in dialogue with others, should be grabbed.

One of the anomalies of the present refusal to allow them to use Westminster is that as MPs they have constituents' interests to represent just as other MPs do and all Whitehall departments treat them the same as other MPs. The



## TV violence hits the streets



Bill Buford

N EW YORK, everybody knows, is a violent city. Mean streets and fat cops and that exhilarating feeling that, somehow, you're always in danger. The city wears its violence like a badge. I live on Gramercy Park, the one bit of New York, New Yorkers tell me, that's meant to be just like London, although there's nothing remotely like London outside my window. Within the past three months, this is what I've seen. On the corner, I saw a policeman confront a man

wielding a knife while holding a woman and baby hostage. They escaped unharmed, while the culprit was dramatically wrestled to the ground and handcuffed. Two blocks away - at the intersection of Lexington and Twenty-third - an elegantly dressed man in a green wool suit was crossing the street, carrying a briefcase. When he was halfway across, a car, which I now realise, had been waiting for this very moment, started up, accelerated, sped around the corner, and struck the man so hard that he flew into the air and landed on the windshield of a taxi. The taxi-driver lost control, ran into a fire hydrant, and was knocked unconscious, slumped against his steering wheel, pressing against his horn. And then there was this astonishing incident, just outside the Gramercy Park Hotel (seedy enough to be frequented by young rock bands and visiting British

paperback publishers). I happened to notice a young couple leaving through its revolving door. The man, in his early 20s, was dressed in a T-shirt and black jeans, and had a flamboyantly pierced ear. The woman, a blonde, was wearing a short black leather skirt. Someone appeared, a man (I never got a look at his face), who called out something - a name, I believe - stepped forward, and shot the young man in the chest. Like that. A shot. Two steps. Bam. And the young man's T-shirt erupted in a cauliflower of pink goo. These are, admittedly, exceptional moments. In fact, they are the only moments of physical violence that I've witnessed in New York. I've seen no road rage. For all the shouting that New Yorkers do, I've seen no one get out of his car and strike another driver. For all the clubs, and the drinking until four in the morning, I've never seen a bar fight, although I've regu-

larly seen pub fights in any number of British provincial towns. I've been to Yankee games and mixed with off-duty drunk firemen and foul-mouthed clowns from the Bronx, and never once suspected that any one of them would even think of punching someone out of allegiance to their team. But I have seen these three things, virtually outside my door. They were extreme, theatrical - just like TV, the movies, just like New York. And that's

## New York wants its images on the world's screens

because each one was being performed for a camera. The violence was all made up. New York is violent, but it's not violent in the way we have been led to believe: all that taxi-driver, Scorese, NYPD stuff. In fact, there's a curious conceit being perpetrated by the office of the mayor of New

York, Rudolf Giuliani. In the past six years, New York has become statistically and undeniably a less dangerous place. This is, one suspects, highly alarming to the people who run the city. How else to explain a very different trend: that there are statistically more violent films about this city than ever before? The mayor's office has 14 people whose mission is to make filming in the city easy. New York wants its images on the world's screens, and it doesn't care what those images depict. A permit to show that New York cops are brutal and disgusting? No problem. Prostitution, drug dealing, Mafia hits? Hey, you just have to ask. A crowd riot that involves closing down streets and tunnels - please! Last year, 21,266 days' worth of filming took place here. Next year, there will probably be even more. And many of these shows are just as violent as the ones shot outside my building. After all, this is New York.

### URGENT APPEAL

## THE CAMBODIA TRUST

Working for the Rehabilitation of Amputees and other Victims of War in Cambodia



SON CHANTHO, 32 (SEEN WITH DAUGHTER KUNTHA), IS JUST ONE OF CAMBODIA'S ESTIMATED 35,000 AMPUTEES, MOST VICTIMS OF THE 17 MILLION MINES PLANTED DURING THE CIVIL WAR.

Chantho is lucky: she and 8,000 other amputees have received free TRUST limbs. Many more amputees await treatment. (Approximately 120 Cambodians are in mine accidents each month; a station experts predict will continue well into the 21st century.)

This is why we are helping to train Cambodians to be prosthetists (people who fit artificial limbs) so they can rehabilitate the mine victim amputees in future. But they need the resources to run clinics and produce limbs. By making a donation to the £1 million 2020 Fund you can ensure Cambodians can assist their limbless victims.

Please don't miss this opportunity to help Cambodians stand on their feet again!

Call our Credit Card/Telephone Hotline on (01993) 813842 or fill in the coupon below.

Yes! I want to assist Cambodians to help their limbless amputees.

Please accept my donation for:

£250 ☐ £100 ☐ £50 ☐ £25 ☐ £10 ☐ Other £

payable by enclosed cheque ☐ or credit card ☐

(MasterCard/Visa/American Express - please delete as applicable)

Signature:

Name:

Address:

Tel. No.:  Fax No.:  Email:

Send your donation to:

THE CAMBODIA TRUST, PO Box 14 (A), Woodstock, Oxon OX20 1SH, UK

UK Registered Charity No. 102476

John Moss

# Crusader on Capitol Hill

**M**ORE than any other person, John Moss, who has died aged 82, was responsible for persuading the United States Congress to pass that country's landmark Freedom of Information Act in 1966. This legislation opened up government to unprecedented public scrutiny and lit a beacon to reformers in many other countries, not least in Britain, where today the white paper on a Freedom of Information Act is due to be published.

Although the act is certain to be Moss's most celebrated legislative monument, it was only one achievement in a spectacularly productive quarter century in Congress during which Moss left his mark on an enormous range of reforms, notably in consumer protection and in government regulatory powers. It

was a Washington career which began in the repressive McCarthy era and ended amid the unprecedented surge of accountability which followed the Watergate scandal.

When Moss died he was described by Ralph Nader, consumers champion and civil rights campaigner, as "a legislator's legislator". Yet his mastery of procedure and legislative detail was almost wholly self-taught.

He was born the son of a miner in Carbon County, central Utah's coal country. When his family moved west in the 1920s they settled near Sacramento, the centre of California state government and its farming industry. Moss had basic schooling, but learned his political trade as an active Democrat and as a farmer's advocate.

After wartime naval service Moss returned to Sacramento and began his legislative

career with two terms in the state legislature. In 1952, with farmworker support, he won the Democratic nomination for the Sacramento district in the US Congress. He would be elected for 12 consecutive terms before his retirement in 1978.

Moss was a confident, sometimes brash, politician. His first action in Washington was to secure a White House meeting with retiring president Harry Truman when he lobbied insistently for the release of a confidential feasibility study on the building of an inland port at Sacramento, a project long cherished by local farmers.

Truman consented, and Moss began campaigning for the building of a 26-mile ship canal from the city to the Pacific: the port of Sacramento opened in 1963.

But it was the Eisenhower administration's anti-communist purges of the federal

bureaucracy which first drew Moss into the field of accountability and which was to lead to the FOI act. Moss was convinced that the administration was using the cold war to settle scores against non-communist militants in the civil service. In 1953 he petitioned the Civil Service Commission to provide a breakdown of the dismissals of civil servants by cause. The commission refused and Moss had found the cause which would make his name.

Each year, he introduced a Freedom of Information Bill in the Congress. Each year the legislation — always opposed by White House incumbents — would fail. But in the mid-1960s a convergence between Republicans opposed to the increasing power of government and liberal Democrats gave him a majority at last, and Lyndon Johnson was

compelled, reluctantly, to sign the measure into law. The act was further strengthened in 1975 following Watergate, again at Moss's instigation. Few legislators of that era could compare in terms of their mastery of the pernickiest detail that is the precondition of effective oversight. Though he was never enough of a trusted party hack to rise to the highest Congressional offices, he chaired a succession of crucial sub-committees on subjects ranging from FBI surveillance powers to pesticide regulation, and it was rare for him to fail to produce some sort of change at the end of his scrutinies.

Moss was also a principal mover in setting up much of the pre-Reagan consumer protection legislation. The Consumer Product Safety Commission, established in 1972, was largely his creation and was the culmination of cam-

paigns begun by him in the 1950s against flammable clothing and against lead in paint. He was also a key figure in transforming the Federal Trade Commission into a powerful regulatory body with the power to promote class actions and curb restrictive practices.

Moss showed his independence of mind irrespective of which party occupied the White House. He was one of the first Democrats to oppose the Vietnam war, travelling to south-east Asia to study American policy at first hand and reporting his criticisms in person to President Johnson. In 1973 he had the distinction of being the first member of Congress to propose the impeachment of Richard Nixon over Watergate.

A car accident in 1976 hastened an unexpected decision to retire from political life while still at the height of his



John Moss... campaigned for freedom of information

public esteem. He returned to Sacramento where he became chairman of a bank before retiring altogether and moving to San Francisco in the hope of easing his asthma.

Moss was often an uncompromisingly lone figure on Capitol Hill. He was idolised by his staffers but party managers sometimes found him hard to call. "Too many people want to be popular around here," he once said. "I don't really give a damn. If it's the right vote, it will become popular."

But his death drew many

handsome tributes. His longtime admirer, vice-president Al Gore, praised him as "a truly great American" who was "a vehement defender of the public interest". Ralph Nader called him "almost the prototypical congressman in terms of serving the people".

Moss married Jean Kueny in 1955. She and their two daughters survive him.

**Martin Kettle**

John Emerson Moss, congressman, born April 13, 1915; died December 6, 1997

Glyn Dearman

## Black day for Mrs Dale's Diary

**T**HE credits of radio drama producer Glyn Dearman, who has died aged 57, ranged from *Mrs Dale's Diary* to Sir John Gielgud's *Leah*. He was held in high esteem and affection by all who worked with him, except, perhaps, the latter-day BBC administrators with whom he clashed on such diverse matters as programme economics and No Smoking edicts.

His radio career began as a boy actor in *Children's Hour* plays, then he became the first Jennings in the radio versions of the *Jennings At School* stories. He also strayed into vision as Tiny Tim in the Alastair Sim film *Scrooge* and as Little Arthur in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, both 1951.

As a grown-up actor, however, he embraced radio and radio alone. He joined the old BBC repertory company, took on a regular part in that dainty precursor of soap opera, *Mrs Dale's Diary*, and gradually switched to story editing and producing the programme.

With the onset of the 1960s the daily dolours of a respectable doctor's wife began to sound rather stuffy. A new Mrs Dale, the former musical comedy star Jessie Matthews, was brought in to liven things up, but in 1969 it fell to Dearman to steer the show — with out telling the cast — towards a final fade-down while secretly rehearsing its successor, *Waggoners' Walk*, set in a trendy London NW milieu, quickly built up a following.

so much so that when its turn came to be axed, nine years later, the BBC received more letters of protest than on any similar occasion.

By then Dearman had moved into general drama, demonstrating a flair for the boudoir comedy that had supposedly been overthrown by John Osborne — and lured Osborne and his then wife Jill Bennett to play in three Feydeau farces. He revived the Sandy Wilson musical *Venus* with a sparkling production starring Elizabeth Welch and Penelope Fielding and recorded a radio play by Andrew Sachs, *The Revenge*, which relied solely on sound effects, without any dialogue.

Dearman had a justified reputation for going for big names. In 1960, I sat in on his

He negotiated a minor change when Dame Peggy jibbed at uttering a four-letter word and exuded enthusiasm. 'Wow!' he cried after one take. 'That was magic. Pure magic'

production of Brian Clark's two-hander *The Petition*, with Sir John Mills and Dame Peggy Ashcroft. It was a revelation to see Dearman's handling of these two veterans — both 82 at the time — who were in an airless little box of a studio in Maida Vale, with Dearman and Brian Clark in the overlooking glassed-in control cubicle.

Communication was via the talk-back until sooner or later



Glyn Dearman... clashes with BBC managers

Dearman would skip down for some personal contact. He negotiated a minor change to the script when Dame Peggy jibbed at uttering a particular four-letter word, stuck out against another quibble, and exuded enthusiasm. "Wow!" he cried after one take. "That was magic. Pure magic."

"Actors loved working with him," said the writer Peter

Buckman. "Writers, too, found him easy to deal with. He never blew up, he was lucid, succinct. There he'd sit, smoking away, rubbing his hands with glee, and like all good radio producers, always serving the text, not serving the technology as they do on television."

Dearman and he worked together on Buckman's adaptation of G.K. Chesterton's *The Man Who Was Thursday*.

Four or five years ago they were due to collaborate again on a Turgenev story, but the project was rejected because it didn't fit in with any of the "themed" seasons of drama which were being introduced.

This was one of several characteristics of the newly restructured BBC that troubled Dearman. He pointed out that all the savings made by consolidating on programmes were being swallowed up by extra management costs, and at first, anyway, ignored a rule against smoking in BBC offices, even one's own office.

Later, he prudently kept the window open when reaching for a quick drag. He was tempted to accept an invitation to join Kenneth Branagh's Renaissance Company, with whom he had mounted famous productions of *Hamlet*, the Gielgud *King Lear* and *Romeo and Juliet*. In the event he stayed on at the BBC until 1965 when he took early retirement, after 35 years as a producer. One of his last tasks was to produce a programme of prose and poetry chosen by Prince Charles and delivered by Robert Stephens, amongst others.

On retirement he set up his own production outfit, Arcadia, and had a number of projects in hand when he died after falling down stairs at his home off Seville Row. His last years had not, apparently, been happy. His marriage in the 1960s lasted only a few years, and though he had innumerable friends, there was no one special, no one to live with. He was often lonely and then drank too much. He bestowed friendship and love freely, several people told me, but seemed unable to accommodate friendship and love offered to him.

**Philip Purser**

Glyn Dearman, radio drama producer, born December 30, 1939; died November 30, 1997

Paul Mills

On parade... Paul Mills with Ava Gardner at the 1969 premiere of *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*

## Friend to the stars

**P**AUL MILLS, who has died aged 78, was a conscientious objector who became a twice-wounded war hero and then a founder and later joint managing director of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer's British studios.

Mills, born in Mitcham, Surrey, was educated locally and graduated from the London School of Economics shortly before the second world war. He registered as a conscientious objector and worked as a street cleaner and further served the community by taking food to the homeless under London's rationing scheme.

But as news of Nazi atrocities mounted he decided his stance was a self-indulgence and took a commission in the Queen's Own Royal West Kent regiment. Fighting in the desert in North Africa, his gun carrier took a direct hit, killing the driver and badly wounding Mills. He was wounded, too, at the battle for Cassino in Italy, where his

left knee was shattered. He completed the war in Germany as Major Mills.

Demobilised in 1946, Mills worked for the Rank Organisation, the main British film company, before heading public relations and corporate affairs at MGM's British studios, just re-opening at Borehamwood. This was the time when MGM had "more stars than there are in heaven" and many of them became Mills's friends. Long after his retirement, he was still dealing with their problems, personal and professional.

Mills worked with such names as Ava Gardner, Gary Cooper, Robert Taylor, Clark Gable, Stewart Granger, William Holden, Spencer Tracy, Katharine Hepburn, Kirk Douglas, Peter Ustinov and Sophia Loren, and such directors as George Cukor and Robert Wise. A particular admirer was Fred Zinnemann, whom he befriended during the time of the ill-fated *Man's Fate*. Zinnemann was due to film this version of Andre

Malraux's *La Condition Humaine* with Liv Ullmann and the sets had been built and costumes made when the production was closed down by MGM's new US management.

Zinnemann, who sued MGM, later wrote that "all the executives ran for cover except two brave men, Paul Mills and Andrew Mitchell". The latter was the project's associate producer. "Paul was a man of the company," said Zinnemann, "but never a company man."

When MGM's Grace Kelly, married Prince Rainier of Monaco in 1956, Mills was seconded to help handle the London-based media at the glitter ceremony. He later described the assignment as "busier than D-Day".

Mills became a director of MGM's British studio and then its joint managing director. Sadly, one of his last assignments was to oversee the 1970 closure of Borehamwood, during a period of swinging economies. Subsequently he wrote a comedy

for Terry-Thomas and produced *Permission To Kill* with Dirk Bogarde and *Steaming* with Vanessa Redgrave, Sarah Miles and Diana Dora.

Mills, who was working on a new script up to the time of his death, is survived by his wife "Spill" and two sons.

**Bill Edwards**

Paul Mills, film executive, born November 23, 1918; died November 8, 1997

### Death Notices

**MANDELLOW**, Henry Thomas, of the GPO and Oldbury-on-Avon, died at Macclesfield, Cheshire, on 7th December 1997 aged 65 years. Widow of George Sapp, shop-maid at Cheshire and Lancashire, she will be buried at Macclesfield Crematorium, Cheshire Road, Macclesfield, on Thursday 11th December at 11.30am. Please call 01625 555555 for details. Donations may be sent to Macclesfield Hospital, Cheshire, or to The Royal Marsden Hospital, Chelsea.

### In Memoriam

**MANDELLOW**, Henry Thomas, of the GPO and Oldbury-on-Avon, died at Macclesfield, Cheshire, on 7th December 1997. Remembered by his grandson.

### Birthdays

**TAYLOR**, John James, had a century, all crying and adding feet, you're 100. Schmitt and Moore, how long can all this last? What a pair!

100th birthday celebration telephone 0171 733 3333 or 0171 733 3333 between 10am and 5pm Mon-Fri.

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### CORRECTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS

AN ARTICLE in The Guardian Weekend of December 6, under the headline A blazing injustice, referring to a trial at Cardiff Crown Court, stated: "There was a further delay when Mr Justice Sachs announced that he did not wish to sit on his birthday." Mr Justice Sachs has asked us to point out that he made no such announcement, although April 8 was indeed his birthday. He says: "The reason why the court did not sit is simply that at the beginning of each legal term all High Court judges hold a meeting in London. I attended that meeting and that was the reason why the court did not sit that day." We are happy to clarify that and apologise for any embarrassment.

IN THE quiz, Have You Been Paying Attention? on Page 2 of The Week on December 6, we mistakenly referred to the Girl Guide Association. Since 1990 the correct name has been the Guide Association. The phrase, Dib, dib, dib... which was mentioned was associated with the Scout movement and not the Guides.

A REPORT about preparations for the World Cup in France, which appeared on Page 10 of later editions on December 8, contained the following quote: "They say 37 billion people around the world will watch the matches." The story lacked a note, which appeared in earlier editions, explaining that this was the estimated cumulative total for all the matches.

It is the policy of The Guardian to correct errors as soon as possible. Readers may contact the office of the Readers' Editor, Ian Mayes, by telephoning 0171 239 5559 between 11am and 5pm, Monday to Friday. Fax: 0171 239 5897. Email: readers@guardian.co.uk

### Birthdays

Anna Carteret, actress, 56; Prof Ronald Dworkin, philosopher of law, 66; Jermaine Jackson, rock singer, 43; Dr Betty Kershaw, president, Royal College of Nursing, 64; Andrew Lansley, Conservative MP, 41; Brenda Lee,

country singer, 63; Rita Moreno, singer, actress, 66; Dorinda Outram, historian of the French Revolution, 68; David Plowright, television pioneer, 67; Alexander Solzhenitsyn, writer, human rights campaigner, 78; Sarah

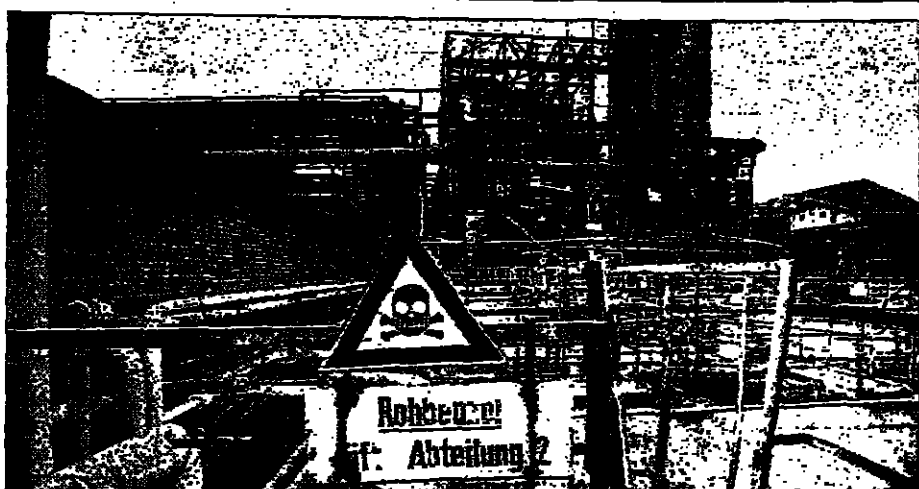
Spencer, civil libertarian, 48; Jean-Louis Trintignant, actor, 67; McCoy Tyner, jazz pianist, composer, 58; Diana Wallis, artistic director, 61; Marco Pierre White, chef, restaurateur, 36; Phil Woolas, Labour MP, 38.

Handwritten signature or mark.

# Analysis Emissions trading



Banned by  
Betty  
9



Available now in Eastern Europe (guaranteed not working, at the right price) DAVID HILZ

## For sale: the right not to use this factory

Those Americans will put a price on anything — including hot air. **Paul Brown** and **Roger Cowe** examine the controversial proposal that delayed an agreement in Kyoto: a trading market in greenhouse-gas emissions.

**A**S THE negotiators fought on yesterday at the United Nations conference in Kyoto, one proposal was emerging as the biggest obstacle to an international agreement to combat global warming. A trade in greenhouse-gas emissions — in effect, the right to buy and sell permission to pollute — is the big idea promoted by the United States as a cost-effective way to solve the climate crisis.

The trouble is, countries which oppose the plan see it simply as a way for the big Western polluters to cheat. The billion-dollar trade, they say, is a rich country's loophole designed to let it buy its way out of obligations to cut emissions. These suspicions have been reinforced in Kyoto this week because the US has pointedly refused to agree to any reduction targets without emissions trading.

The trade works like this. Each country is allocated a maximum amount of pollution, in the form of carbon dioxide, that it can discharge into the atmosphere in a year. If a country emits less than its

target, it can sell the difference to another country that is not doing so well. For the trade to succeed, each buyer needs a willing partner — in the case of the West, Russia and the former Eastern bloc countries that need the money.

The fear of cheating has arisen because in some countries — Russia is a prime example — carbon dioxide emissions are declining anyway. Russia is already set to have a notional billion tonnes of carbon dioxide savings compared with 1990. But Russia has made no effort to produce this saving: it is simply that the economy has collapsed since 1990. That is why critics worry that this so-called trade in "hot air" may lead only to limited real savings for the atmosphere.

There was at least agreement in Kyoto that such a trading system must deal with future emissions for which some concrete action has had to be taken. For example, the Eastern bloc has many old power stations which are woefully inefficient. The atmosphere would benefit substantially if these were modernised. Dollar for dollar, it would be more efficient to pay for the modernisation than to pay for the right to pollute.

Green groups have even used their financial muscle to cut pollution by buying up permits and effectively cancelling them. A group of schoolchildren across the US raised \$20,000 to buy permits for 324 tons of sulphur dioxide, effectively cutting total pollution by that amount.

A variation on the theme is known as "joint implementation". This involves a deal between two countries, usually one rich and one poor. It usually involves a transfer of new technology or the construction of low-pollution power plants to the advantage of the recipient nation. The notional carbon dioxide saved is then transferred back to the rich nation as a credit. Sometimes it can involve protection for a resource: if a rich country saves a forest from destruction by buying and protecting it, it can claim the carbon notional saved from the atmosphere as a credit.

Yet the broader a scheme gets, the more difficult it is to make it work in practice. It is essential to have proper policing and penalties, to ensure that total permitted levels are not exceeded and that permit holders stick to their limits. In a dispersed scheme, it can be difficult to ensure such rigour.

Even so, there are serious objections to the idea of allowing polluters to "get away with

it", even at the price of buying other peoples' permits. Many environmentalists, as a matter of principle, believe regulation and taxes should be used to make every polluter improve performance.

Then there are the practicalities. It is all very well a power station in Yorkshire swapping its permitted emissions with one in Scotland; but the communities around the Scottish plant are not going to be too happy about sulphur dioxide continuing to pollute their region. The same applies on an international basis.

**K**YOTO still has to agree details of exactly how these schemes would work and be verified. Currently emissions trading can only take place between countries which have agreed to a legal limit on their emissions. These include the rich developed countries of the EU, the US, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the other Western European nations, plus what are called the economies in transition — in other words, the former Eastern bloc.

Joint implementation can also include developing countries; but to take part they must voluntarily agree to sign up to limitations of their own. As of yesterday none had done so. But the lure of technology transfer and hard currency, in exchange for doing very little, may be sufficient incentive.

One company at the climate talks has already started a pilot project both on emission trading and joint implementation. Centre Financial Products, based at the Chicago commodity exchange, is working on a pilot price of \$100 a tonne of sulphur dioxide. If the US cut its 1990 emissions level by 10 per cent, that would set back the economy by \$2.3 billion if none of the cuts were made domestically. On the other hand, if the US cut its 1990 emissions level by 10 per cent, that would set back the economy by \$2.3 billion if none of the cuts were made domestically. On the other hand, if the US cut its 1990 emissions level by 10 per cent, that would set back the economy by \$2.3 billion if none of the cuts were made domestically.

Trading could also be international. If an American power plant found it would cost \$100 million to modernise and so cut emissions, it could in theory spend the money instead on buying the emission rights from an older, much more polluting Chinese plant. The Chinese plant's emissions would fall, and China would gain much-needed currency. America's emissions would stay steady, or rise — but the cuts would be made where they were cheaper. Most importantly, global emissions would be limited; there is a financial incentive to improve efficiency and technology.

**Across borders**

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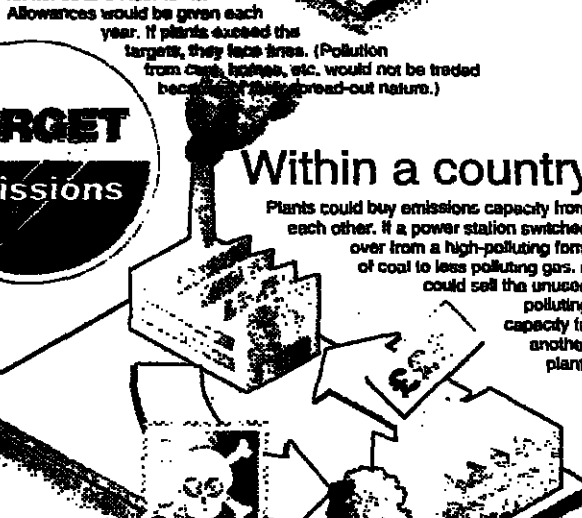
### How to trade pollution rights

Developing countries are among the fastest-rising producers of greenhouse gases — but their lack of money means clean-ups are not a priority. Emissions trading has been proposed by some richer countries, as a solution. Critics say it allows richer nations to avoid action that would cut their own emissions.

### How it works

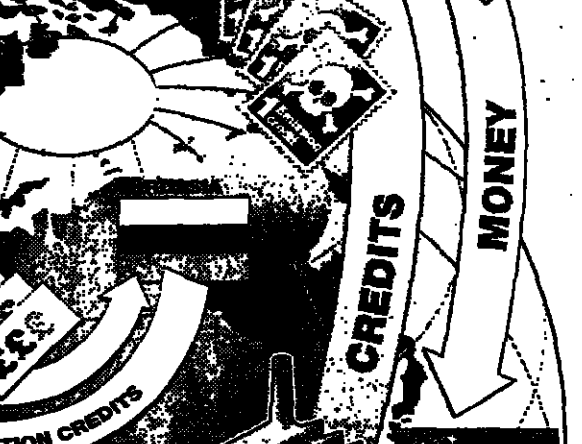
Each of the 53 countries which Kyoto sets a target and a standard to show how much it is emitting. Governments would decide how to use their permitted emissions, among sectors such as transport, industry and energy production. Part of the allowances would go to the small number of very high-polluting industries, such as factories, refineries and steelworks.

Allowances would be given each year. If plants exceed the targets, they face fines. (Pollution from cars, homes, etc. would not be traded because of its broad-out nature.)



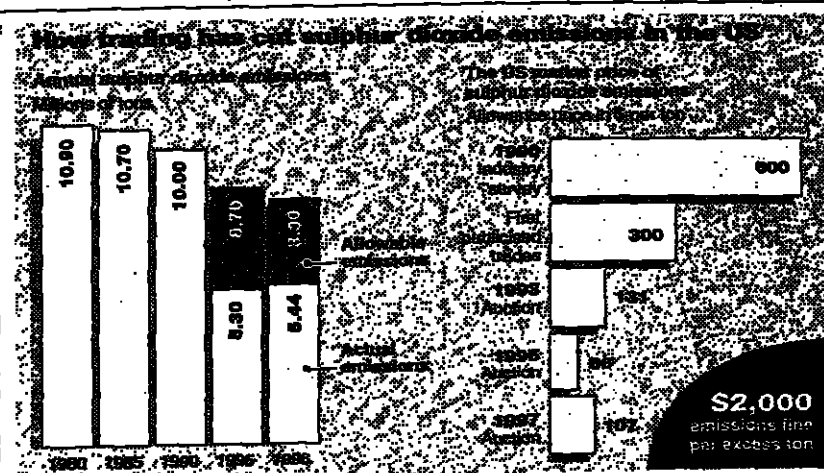
**Within a country**

Plants could buy emissions capacity from each other. If a power station switched over from a high-polluting form of coal to less polluting gas, it could sell the unused polluting capacity to another plant.



### Helping each other

Under the trading proposal, countries would also benefit from actions that cut pollution in other countries. This is called "joint implementation". The Czech Republic, for instance, might replant a forest in Slovakia, or clean up a Romanian power plant. It could then claim the credits for the reduced emissions that result. Such projects may provide emissions credits relatively inexpensively for poorer nations.



| Buyers  |                                    | Sellers |                                    |
|---------|------------------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|
| Country | CO2 Emissions (Millions of tonnes) | Country | CO2 Emissions (Millions of tonnes) |
| USA     | 10,800                             | China   | 10,000                             |
| UK      | 9,700                              | India   | 10,000                             |
| Germany | 8,200                              | Russia  | 10,000                             |
| France  | 6,300                              | Japan   | 9,700                              |
| Japan   | 9,700                              | USA     | 10,800                             |
| China   | 10,000                             | UK      | 9,700                              |
| India   | 10,000                             | Germany | 8,200                              |
| Russia  | 10,000                             | France  | 6,300                              |
|         |                                    | Japan   | 9,700                              |
|         |                                    | China   | 10,000                             |
|         |                                    | India   | 10,000                             |
|         |                                    | Russia  | 10,000                             |

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# FinanceGuardian

## The banking emergency

# Action plan to protect City

Don Atkinson

**A**N EMERGENCY action plan has been drawn up by the British authorities to shield the City against the market meltdown in the Far East, Howard Davies, the chief financial regulator, revealed yesterday. He told a conference that the Treasury, Bank of England and his own Financial Services Authority (FSA) had combined to create the contingency scheme.

The turbulence in South-east Asia, Japan and Korea has been the first test of the new three-way arrangement under which the Treasury, Bank and FSA work together to protect the City and the economy as a whole.

This set-up was outlined in a "memorandum of understanding" signed earlier this year, under which a standing committee made up of delegates from each of the three organisations meets monthly to discuss individual cases of significance and other developments relevant to financial stability.

Both the Bank and FSA can, at short notice, alert Chancellor Gordon Brown "where a serious problem arises, which could cause wider economic disruption; where there is or could be a need for a support operation... [and] where dip-

lomatic or foreign relations problems might arise". The turmoil in the Far East qualified on all counts.

It is not known what measures, if any, may have been taken, nor the precise details of the emergency plan. Mr Davies was speaking at a conference on regulation at the Museum of London.

Elsewhere in his remarks, he said the FSA would "keep a particular eye" on the industry's treatment of those vulnerable to hard selling of inappropriate financial products, in particular the elderly and the poor.

Many of these people would be better served by credit unions and local institutions, he said.

But he warned that the Act establishing the FSA would carry wording that limited its consumer-protection role and would make it clear the agency would not protect people from the consequences of straightforward investment mistakes.

## Rescue fund for the ailing 'tigers'

Alex Brummer  
Financial Editor

**T**HE International Monetary Fund is moving rapidly to create an emergency loan facility designed to halt the flight of private capital from the "tiger" economies in the wake of the Asian crisis.

Under the emergency facility, the IMF, which is playing a central role in rescue measures — will be able to provide cash support to troubled economies within a week of application, provided the government concerned agrees to economic reforms.

In the recent past, IMF money has only been provided after lengthy negotiations targeting a country's balance of payments. The new loan programme — to be known as the Supplemental Reserve Facility — seeks to recognise the growing significance of private sector capital flows on global economies.

The proposal is thought to be supported by the Group of Seven countries on the IMF's governing board and could be approved at a meeting in Washington next Monday.

The authors of the plan are understood to be the US Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan and the IMF deputy managing director Stanley Fischer, a widely respected Harvard economist.

They came up with the idea as an alternative to the so-called \$100 billion fund — advocated by some South-east Asian finance ministers — which would be used to provide a buffer against the possibility of a sharp fall in foreign exchange reserves.

The fund would be used to provide a buffer against the possibility of a sharp fall in foreign exchange reserves.

## Left will get a voice at Bank's Court

Mark Atkinson  
and Larry Elliott

**L**EFT-WING union leader Bill Morris is to become the first black member of the Bank of England's governing body, the Court, as part of a shake-up to be unveiled in the new year.

Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, sees the appointment of the 39-year-old head of the Transport & General Workers Union as the first step in his effort to rid the Bank of its perceived pro-City bias and make it more representative of modern Britain.

Mr Morris will replace one of the Tory appointees to the governing body, which scrutinises the decisions of the Bank's monetary policy committee, the body that has day-to-day control of interest rates.

Kenneth Clarke, Mr Brown's predecessor, ended a tacit agreement that the Court should represent both sides of industry.

The Bank's Governor, Eddie George, is believed to support the idea of having a trade unionist on the Court, having opposed Mr Clarke's decision to leave the Bank without such a representative when Gavin Laidr, general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering & Electrical Union, stepped down in 1994.

The Chancellor is scouring the country to find up to six more Court members to fill the vacancies which could come up early next year.

Mr Morris's appointment, which will take effect in February, goes against the tradition of appointing members to the Court from the right of the union movement.

The Bank of England is considering cutting interest rates next year if the five rises to the cost of borrowing since May send the economy into reverse in 1998, writes Charles Dwyer.

Members of the monetary policy committee voted unanimously to put up interest rates to 7.25 per cent at their November meeting, according to the minutes published yesterday by the Bank — although there were veiled pointers to some dissent.



Bill Morris: left-winger who will restore union link

Threadneedle Street is concerned that the pace of economic growth and the rapid fall in the jobsless total may push inflation above the Government's 2.5 per cent target over the next two years.

The committee discussed the option of keeping rates on hold and watching whether the economy slowed, but opted for a further quarter-point rise.

"If necessary, interest rates could be cut if new evidence emerged that the economy was weaker than expected," the committee noted.

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## Deal gives Britain seat at euro table

Martin Walker in Brussels  
and Larry Elliott

**B**ITAIN is to be offered part-time membership of EuroX, the group which will manage the new single currency, as part of a compromise deal brokered by Brussels ahead of today's European Union summit.

Under the deal, drawn up by Commission officials, Britain will be able to claim that it has not been excluded from the inner-core body, while France and Germany can insist the essential privacy of the euro club remains intact.

Crafted by Commission officials and Luxembourg premier Jean-Claude Juncker, who will chair the EU summit later this week, the plan offers Britain observer status, an idea which has now been approved by German finance minister Theo Waigel.

His French counterpart, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, has suggested a differentiated agenda, under which non-euro members could be included in general meetings of the group, but not in those for the intimate details of currency management, such as setting exchange rates and deciding whether a euro member had so broken the budgetary rules that the others had to discuss sanctions.

"I think they [the British] can participate as observers, if the others so wish it," EU Commission president Jacques Santer, also of Luxembourg, said yesterday. "We just have to find a solution which combines efficiency in the heart of the euro zone with the coherence of our institutional operation."

Some issues remain to be decided. It was not clear last night whether the observers in the EuroX group would have the right to speak although, in practice, fellow ministers are unlikely to try to stop a Gordon Brown intent on being heard.

Politically, with a tricky EU summit looming and nobody wanting to launch Tony Blair's first stab at the EU presidency with a row, almost any kind of compromise would be acceptable.

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## Yamaichi staff forlorn

Paul Murphy

**Y**AMAICHI, the Japanese brokerage house which collapsed at the end of last month, is being accused of "sergeant-like meanness" and of breaking promises as it lays off London staff.

In stark contrast to the multi-million pound bonuses being handed in the City at the end of a spectacular year in the financial markets, the majority of the 200 Yamaichi staff so far made redundant

have been offered bare-knuckle terms of one-week salary payments for every year of service, plus statutory redundancy terms. Payments of £3,000 or less are said to have been commonplace.

The terms far when compared with redundancy packages handed out by the brokerage just three months ago, when the 50 or so Yamaichi staff being laid-off at the time were each paid up to £40,000.

One of the firm's former dealers said that just a couple of weeks before the collapse the staff had received assurances

from the management that Yamaichi's London operations were solvent and profitable.

In one memo to staff, managers had claimed that in terms of financial ratios the London business was on a stronger financial footing than the world's biggest stockbroker, Merrill Lynch.

## Bosses heed call for pay restraint

Julia Finch

**C**OMPANY directors are showing restraint and awarded themselves pay increases averaging only 2.5 to 4 per cent over the past 12 months, according to a new survey.

The Reward Group annual survey, produced jointly with the Institute of

Directors, says boardroom rises have been only just ahead of those awarded to their workforces and 61 per cent of directors have received salary increases of 4 per cent or less.

But the survey — released days after the Chancellor, Gordon Brown, called for pay restraint — also shows that four out of 10 directors received more

than 5 per cent and nearly 20 per cent had pay boosts of more than 10 per cent.

According to the report, the average pay increase for ordinary employees was 3.3 per cent.

The managing director of a small company — with up to £25 million turnover — takes home an average £53,000 salary, topped up with a £12,000 bonus.

The top job in a medium-sized firm pays an average £85,000, boosted by a £20,000 bonus. But the boss of a company with a turnover of more than £200 million gets an average £135,000 plus £35,000 bonus.

Some 14 per cent of directors surveyed were women and they received an average 24 per cent less pay than male counterparts.

## Notebook

## Conflict of interest under the hammer



Edited by  
Alex Brummer

**T**HE sudden outburst of stock market interest in auction houses Christie's International and Sotheby's, begs the question: why?

In many ways the auction houses are like airlines, media properties and trophy hotels: they are high-profile businesses which attract business egos in search of prestige. In much the same way as Richard Branson has been attracted to the skies, the Barclay Brothers to newspapers and the Sultan of Brunei to the Dorchester, so the wealthy Bass family of Texas has been attracted towards Sotheby's Holding. The betting is that similar interests, either from the prestige end of the luxury goods markets or from one of the oil-rich kingdoms, have set their sights on Christie's.

As businesses, auction houses are not well understood. Indeed, there are serious questions as to whether they are really equipped to be public companies. Although their catalogues receive wide coverage in the media and occasionally celebrity auctions draw a broader audience, most of the business done at Christie's involves a handful of the super-rich — the Christie's/Sotheby's mailing lists are in fact their greatest asset. In this way they are more akin to Asprey or Cartier than to car auctions.



## Champions League

Group C: Newcastle 2, Dynamo Kiev 0

## United exit with pride

Michael Walker  
**S**O NEWCASTLE'S debut appearance in the Champions League ended the way it began — in triumph and jubilation. This may have been pleasing in symmetry but no one should forget what went on in between the victory over Barcelona in September and the events of last night. Judging by the hordes leaving the ground before the final whistle, few have.

None the less, defeating the group winners Dynamo Kiev in what was ultimately comfortable fashion, is hardly a result to be sniffed at. Newcastle, through well-taken first-half goals from John Barnes and Stuart Pearce, did just that and thus inflicted a first loss upon Kiev.

The game itself, though, never came near to matching the excitement of that Barcelona night.

The atmosphere at kick-off, usually so raucous and passionate, was heavy with anticlimax. With Newcastle's interest in the competition effectively ended by their 1-0 defeat in Eindhoven in match three, and Kiev already assured their place in the quarter-finals, at stake was only prestige and prize money.

For the Ukrainians, though, this was enough incentive for them to field their full-strength team, five of whom were on yellow cards, while Newcastle did much the same with their available fit players.

This meant another start for Faustino Asprilla following his abortive 62-min-

ute return last Saturday, and the Colombian immediately gave Newcastle the dimension only his presence can supply. Maybe Asprilla had heard about the Real Madrid representatives in the crowd, although they were here, allegedly, to watch Keith Gillespie.

Either way, the first man to make an impression was neither Asprilla nor Gillespie but the electric Kiev inside forward Sergei Rebrov.

Ghosting away from Alessandro Pistone in the fifth minute, Rebrov put a quickly taken header inches over the crossbar.

That, however, proved to be Kiev's best moment of a lethargic first half hour. Refusing to become involved in any physical combat, Dynamo handed the midfield to Robert Lee and David Batty, a situation the latter exploited to full effect in creating the opening goal.

Cutting through a series of tackles, Batty delivered a smart square ball to Barnes just inside the Kiev area. At first shaping to shoot with his left, Barnes then switched to his right and drilled the ball low into Alexander Shovkovskiy's bottom right-hand corner.

Encouraged by that Lee almost made it two a couple of minutes later — only to miss the ball completely when well placed — but nevertheless Newcastle grabbed a second not long after. What a strike it was, too, Pearce recording his first for Newcastle with a trademark 25 yards curling bullet following a short free-kick with Lee.



Low pleasures... Stuart Pearce, the goalscorer, and Robert Lee celebrate the England defender's goal last night

When Barnes then almost made it three from a Gillespie centre in the 36th minute, Kiev suddenly decided that embarrassment was a possibility and entered the fray. Twice in the space of a minute only Shaka Hislop's agility prevented first Yuri Kalit-

vinsev scoring with a fierce shot, then a Rebrov header from barely six yards was also ushered to safety.

At last we were beginning to see glimpses of the real Kiev, the team that had destroyed Barcelona and PSV Eindhoven, but sadly in a

stale opening to the second half it appeared that Kiev had resorted to going through the motions once again, rather than through the middle.

Finally, Kalitvinsev rebounded into action down the left — Hislop making another save — but it was

not until the hour had passed that the highly regarded Andrei Shevchenko was given any kind of ammunition. Even then it was dud, Shevchenko scooping a Kalitvinsev pass into Row Z.

With Newcastle similarly subdued, and equally dis-

jointed in their distribution, it made for dull fare indeed. Newcastle United (5-3-2): Hislop; Watson, Peacock, Albert, Pearce, Pistone (Hughes, 8-11); Gillespie, Batty, Lee; Barnes, Asprilla.

Dynamo Kiev (4-4-2): Shovkovskiy; Voloskino, Luzhnyi, Rebrov, Gusev; Oshchukin, Mikhailenko, Kalitvinsev, Kosovskiy; Shevchenko, Rebrov. Referee: H. Krug (Germany).

## Football

## Dawn patrol is due to Sky

Russell Thomas

**M**ANY Manchester United and Chelsea fans face another journey at dawn, because their intriguing FA Cup third-round tie was given a noon kick-off at Stamford Bridge after Sky TV's confirmation yesterday that it has chosen the match for live screening on Sunday January 4.

The FA has been talking with the Metropolitan Police since the draw last weekend; the police wanted to ensure that the meeting between the Premiership champions and the Cup holders, currently England's top two, would start and finish in daylight to assist security and crowd-control.

United and Chelsea fans must make an even earlier start on Saturday February 28 when their Premiership tie is to be screened live by Sky. Kicks off at 11am.

The Cup game's noon start will also avoid a direct clash for armchair fans with the Everton-Newcastle tie, which has been chosen by ITV for its live presentation on January 4 with a 2pm kick-off.

With eight London clubs drawn at home in the Cup, the Metropolitan Police and its football control unit face a huge security task on the traditional third-round Saturday.

Wimbledon's tie with Wrexham has already been put back to the Sunday, allowing the Dons' Selhurst Park landlords Crystal Palace to go ahead with their game against either Scunthorpe or non-League Ilkeston 24 hours earlier. And Tottenham will meet Fulham at White Hart Lane on January 5 after Sky selected this tie as their live Monday night fixture.

Meanwhile, Green Flag has left England searching for a new sponsor after announcing yesterday that it would end its four-year, £4 million backing of the national team after next summer's World Cup final.

The vehicle-recovery company believes it has had good value for money, in an awareness campaign boosted by England's improved fortunes under Terry Venables and Glenn Hoddle.

The FA has already begun the search for a replacement sponsor and is confident of naming a new backer soon after Christmas.

We are currently in communication with a number of other interested parties. We hope to make an announcement, probably early in the new year," said the FA spokesman Steve Double. "With England going to the World Cup there has been a huge amount of interest."

## Everton set for mass clear-out

Ian Ross

**E**VERTON'S senior squad seemed almost on the verge of being shredded yesterday as a posse of clubs closed in on Goodison Park in the hope of picking up pre-Christmas bargains.

Although Everton's manager Howard Kendall played a straight bat to suggestions that several of his senior professionals would be playing their football away from Merseyside in the new year, departures from a club deep in trouble seemed inevitable.

Indeed, the England wing-back Andy Hinchcliffe would probably be set to line up for Derby County against Bolton Wanderers at the Reebok Stadium on Sunday but for a dispute over his transfer list after he rejected a new contract. The 27-year-old striker, who scored 25 goals last season and has already netted 13 in 18 full games this term, wants to play in the Premiership.

● Bristol City have put their top scorer Shaun Goater on the transfer list after he rejected a new contract. The 27-year-old striker, who scored 25 goals last season and has already netted 13 in 18 full games this term, wants to play in the Premiership.

Everton want to exchange Hinchcliffe for Dean Sturridge, but with Derby's manager Jim Smith demanding a £2 million cash adjustment in his club's favour, so valuing his player at £5 million, the deal has been put on ice.

"We are always interested in quality players and Andy Hinchcliffe is one of them," Smith said. "But from what I have seen we are a million miles apart on the valuation."

Gary Speed moved a step closer to Goodison's front door yesterday when Newcastle officially made contact with Everton.

The midfielder, mindful that he is almost certain to be in Everton's team to face Wimbledon at Goodison on Saturday, yesterday insisted he was happy to remain at a club he has supported since childhood. But Saturday's appearance may be his last if Newcastle agree to meet Ever-



Hinchcliffe... move on ice

## European round-up

## Tea and talk is Little's recipe for success

Peter White

**B**RIAN LITTLE, Aston Villa's manager, explained last night how a long chat over a cup of tea had helped him get a better return from his record signing Stan Collymore.

When Collymore struggled after his £7 million move from Liverpool, Little went to the striker's home for talks. "We spoke very openly," said Little. "I feel it is important that discussions like that should be held away from my office."

"If they had been held at the training ground then almost certainly the only

topic would have been football, but I went to Stan's home in Cannock and spent more than two hours with him discussing much broader aspects than just the game."

Collymore missed several scoring chances during the 2-0 victory over Steaua Bucharest in the return leg of their third-round UEFA Cup tie on Tuesday night, but Little believes his record signing is about to become a great asset.

"His last three performances at home have been very good and if he had scored against Steaua then a lot of people would have been raving about him,"

Little said. "Before the game I told him to go for it, and that is what he did."

"As a team we struggled earlier in the season because the balance was not right; we were not in tune with one another. But because of the big fee we had paid for Stan it seemed that he took more blame than anyone else."

"Now he is well on the way to playing how we want him to; he is hungry. I still maintain he is a good player and I hope he has come through the worst now and we shall get even more out of him in the months ahead."

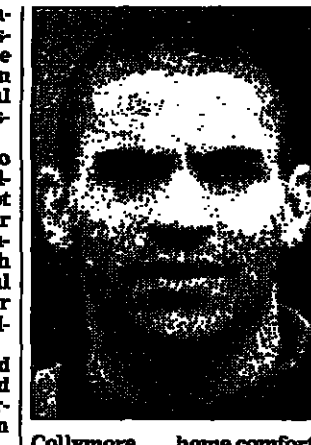
Ronaldinho struck again on

Tuesday night as Internazionale swept aside Strasbourg to join Villa in the last eight. Inter won 3-0 in the San Siro to overhaul the French club's surprising 2-0 first-leg lead.

Even though Ronaldinho missed a 13th-minute penalty, the Brazilian could not be subdued and scored later in the first half. Javier Zanetti and Diego Simeone, with an extraordinary individual strike, delivered the other goals to complete an all-South American treble.

Villa will want to avoid Inter, Atletico Madrid and Lazio when the quarter-final draw takes place in Geneva next Wednesday.

John Pashanu, like Segers, a former Wimbledon player and also cleared at Winchester Crown Court, will not ap-



Collymore... home comfort

## Players against drugs sack FA hearing starts

**G**ORDON TAYLOR, the chief executive of the Professional Footballers' Association, yesterday urged clubs not to terminate the contracts of players who fail drug tests.

His appeal came after Charlton sacked their 21-year-old defender Jamie Stuart, who tested positive for cocaine and marijuana last month.

"We do not want to encourage the sledgehammer approach of terminating the contract of a player who has tested positive for drugs," Taylor said. "We feel it is a dangerous precedent for other clubs to follow, as we believe they should be looking to help rehabilitate players."

However, Charlton's manager Alan Curbishley insisted the "shadow of suspicion"

resulting from Stuart's positive test meant they had no option other than to sack him. Significantly, the former England Under-21 international was the fourth player to have failed a drugs test at the First Division club, following Jay Nolley, Dean Chandler and Lee Bowyer.

Charlton's managing director Peter Varney said: "I do not believe any professional club have worked harder than Charlton to educate their players, at all levels, on the evils of drugs."

Taylor said he believed Stuart had been the victim of other players' past indiscretions but added that the decision was understandable in light of the recent history of drug problems at Charlton.

"Because of the problems they have had in the past they were concerned about their

reputation and wanted to send a clear message to their own players and to the rest of the league."

Varney and the other Charlton players were under no illusions as to what would happen if they tested positive. Now we will be doing all we can to get Jamie's career back on track after his rehabilitation and testing programme to ensure he has no more drug problems."

Stuart, who had 18 months left on his contract, is the second player to have his contract terminated after failing a drugs test. Leyton Orient dismissed Roger Stanislaus early last year after he tested positive for cocaine immediately after a match.

Stuart now faces a Football Association hearing after being charged with misconduct and could be banned for a lengthy period.

**WICK VARIETY**  
**BRUCE GROBBELAAR** and Hans Segers will this morning start their fight against possible life bans from football, when they attend a two-day Football Association disciplinary hearing which will decide if they breached rules on gambling.

The misconduct charges they face are insignificant compared with the criminal case for alleged match-fixing from which both men walked free this year that could have resulted in jail sentences. But the FA still has the power to impose any sanction up to and including a permanent ban on the goalkeepers.

John Pashanu, like Segers, a former Wimbledon player and also cleared at Winchester Crown Court, will not ap-

pear as he is no longer in the game.

Central to the hearing, near Heathrow airport, will be the evidence that Grobbelaar, formerly of Liverpool and Southampton, and Segers gave at the trial and retrial lasting 80 days and costing up to £10 million.

Grobbelaar, a Zimbabwe international, admitted taking £28,000 from a Far Eastern associate to forecast results of Premiership games, and Segers admitted receiving up to £45,000 for a similar service in Dutch football.

Grobbelaar is expected to argue that he has already been acquitted of the allegations and should not be subjected to another trial, and Segers will tell the inquiry his money was for games outside England and therefore beyond the remit of the FA.

## Sport in brief

## Tennis

Steffi Graf will make her comeback at the Australian Open, a title she has won four times. Germany's former world No. 1, who underwent knee surgery in June, will join a strong field including the holder Martina Hingis and two other former winners in Melbourne, Monica Seles and Mary Pierce. The season's opening Grand Slam tournament takes place from January 19 until February 1.

## Squash

Jansher Khan beat England's Tony Hands in straight games yesterday to reach the quarter-finals of the Chrysler Heliopolis Open in Cairo, writes Richard Jago, Scotland's Peter Nicol is not competing, this being the safest way to protect his computer points average and overtake Jansher in February to become Britain's first world No. 1.

## Soccer

Wigan Athletic may open their 1998-99 campaign at the Central Park home of their rugby league neighbours Wigan Warriors. Negotiations are progressing for the

Latics to take up temporary residency at Central Park before both clubs make the move to a new 25,000-seat stadium at Robin Park. Football League officials who visited Central Park did not lodge any objections. "This could end the divide between the two sets of supporters and help the clubs come together for the good of sport in Wigan," said Wigan Athletic's owner Dave Whelan.

## Bowls

John Price of Swansea last night became the first four-times winner of the CIS Insurance Scottish Masters title. He coasted to the title, beating the three-times world indoor champion Richard Corsie 7-0, 7-3, 7-4 at Coatbridge. "John was absolutely brilliant, and I wasn't at the races," said the runner-up.

## Ice Hockey

Slovak Bratislava's 3-1 victory over the Finnish side TPS Turku in the final series of qualifying games has ended Manchester Storm's involvement in this season's European League, writes Vic Berchelder. Russia's Lada Togliatti, one better on goal difference, have beaten Britain's sole representatives to the best runner-up place.

## Results

## Football

## CHAMPIONS LEAGUE

## Group A

Galatasaray 1, Partick 1; Sporting Pragut 0, Borussia Dortmund 2.

## Group B

Ararat 0, Feyenoord 1.

## Group C

Newcastle 2, Dynamo Kiev 0.

## Group D

PSV Eindhoven 2, Barcelona 2.

## Group E

Bayern Munich 0, IFK Gothenburg 1.

## Group F

Sturm Graz 2, AS Monaco 2.

## FA TROPHY

Leigh RMI 1, Bradford PA 0.

## REPRESENTATIVE MATCHES

FA XI 2, Ryan League 0.

## UNION LEAGUE

Stirling Albion 2, Falkirk 1.

## HARTFORD LEAGUE

Stirling Albion 2, Falkirk 1.

## ARROWT INSURANCE NORTHERN LEAGUE

Stirling Albion 2, Falkirk 1.

## SCOTTISH MASTERS

John Price 7-0, Richard Corsie 7-3, 7-4.

## Cricket

## WOMEN'S WORLD CUP

England 15-4, South Africa 15-4.

## Ice Hockey

USA 15-4, Canada 15-4.

## Snooker

England 15-4, Scotland 15-4.

## Squash

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## Snooker

# They don't make them like Pastrano, a prizefighter with style, deceptive strength — and a weakness for women



Frank Keating

**P**RIZEFIGHTING has always boasted a colourful cast-list, and few were more colourful than Willie Pastrano, who has died of cancer at 62 in New

Orleans. It was there he had his first professional contest, illegally, at 15. "Hey, guys," he said proudly, "I'm fighting a guy who's got hairs on his chest."

He was a featherweight then but grew up to be light-heavyweight champion of the world, good enough to take on and beat full heavyweights, "till Sonny Liston came along."

For many years Pastrano lived in Las Vegas, a city almost as neon-gaudy as his own character but not remotely as appealing. He would often be seen during big-fight weeks, dispensing chuckles, charm and the racy banter of an old champ.

He liked Brito and the British, fighting here six times because, he said, the British appreciated the art of self-defence better than his own countrymen. In 1960 he took on Chic Calderwood in Glasgow, where he and his illustrious trainer Angelo Dundee went to Mass on the Sunday before the fight.

"Angelo and me were keen Catholics," he said, "and a priest told us we could have a photo-call the next day with the Children of Mary."

"That picture got a lot of space. How was we to know about all the religious friction up there? And that all the fight officials would be Protestant,

as well as Chic himself? I thought I beat him, but Chic got the decision. A religious thing? You tell me, mister."

Four years later he defended his world title against Terry Downes in Manchester and for 10 rounds the buzz saw Cockney was beating him. In the classic memoir *In This Corner*, Pastrano recalled: "At the bell Angelo jumps into the ring and says, 'You're blowing your goddam title.'"

"I said, 'Eff you,' Angelo says, 'Eff me? Eff Downes, he's the one who's stealing your title.'"

"The bell went, I came out. Bing! I went crazy. He went down. I was hanging on the ropes; I was tired, nearly shot

my bolt. Then he gets up. He had more balls than was good for him. I dropped him again. I said to myself, 'If he gets up this time I'm just going to sit down.' I had no more left. But he didn't make it."

That was on November 20 1964. Four months later, in New York, he lost his title to Jose Torres after nine rounds. He never fought again.

**P**ASTRANO ascribed that defeat to Torres's body punching, but others put it down to Willie's love of life, and particularly women.

Like his President, John Kennedy, Pastrano claimed

that he needed sexual gratification every day or he would get a migraine. Women are traditionally off-limits to boxers before big fights, trainers believing that any sexual activity is "weakening", but Pastrano found ways to breach the rule.

"He was a ladies' man," the American ringside doctor Ferdie Pacheco recounted, "and the perfect example of someone who could win after violating every rule of training."

Mindful of his fighter's last-gasp victory over Downes, Dundee assigned a veteran trainer, Lou Gross, to keep a beady eye on Pastrano when they moved out of New York

and up to a Catskills mountain training camp to prepare for the Torres fight.

After roadwork at dawn and breakfast, the champ would retire to his hotel room for an hour's nap, doing so again after gym work in mid-morning and once more after afternoon sparring. On each occasion Gross sat diligently in the lobby on the lookout for any suspicious-looking showgirl or optimistic widow.

Willie, meanwhile, was brightening the day of the hotel's entire roster of chambermaids.

Old Lou, posted at his sentry point, failed to notice this until the eve of the fight, when

one of the chambermaids, apparently disgruntled at being queue-jumped by a colleague, went down the lobby and whispered in Gross's ear that Pastrano had company in his cot at that very moment.

The old trainer hared up the stairs two at a time and hammered on the locked door.

"Willie, open up. I know you've got a woman in there," he shouted through the keyhole.

"Go away," said Pastrano to the sound of muffled giggles beside him.

"Okay, I'm going," said Lou after a minute, adding imploringly, "but don't come, Willie. Please don't come!"

## Racing uncertainties as the Maktoums threaten to quit

# Bookmakers take the sheikh to task

### Betting shop boss claims owners want subsidising

**Chris Hawkins** on the cracks in an industry that is quick to bridle

**B**OOKMAKERS reacted angrily yesterday to Sheikh Mohammed's accusation that they are responsible for the impoverished state of the British racing industry — a situation which the country's biggest owner and one of the world's richest men says could drive him out.

The director general of the Betting Shop Licensees Association, Tom Kelly, admitted that the sheikh's departure from British racing would be a big blow but added: "We are not going to provide the money to persuade him to stay. It is the usual thing from wealthy

'Prize-money is too low and bookmakers take out too much'

David Loder, trainer

owners in racing: they seem to think their hobby should be subsidised."

Kelly said that this summer his association commissioned a study which showed that racing had made significant financial progress in the past 10 years whereas bookmakers were no better off. "The performance of bookmaking companies over the last year compares unfavourably with the big retail outlets, and if we made 3.5 per cent net profit we would be doing well; in 1996 the profit was 1.8 per cent because of the introduction of the National Lottery."

Racing is financed through the Horserace Betting Levy Board, which received £64 million last year from the government, which took more than £400 million for itself in betting duty.

There is a belief, apparently shared by Sheikh Mohammed, that the bookmakers take a cut from the 5p-in-the-pound levy that the punter pays. According to Kelly, from that 5p the government takes 7.35 while 1.64 goes to the levy board.

These are the minutiae of a problem which was created when betting was legalised more than 30 years ago. The opportunity was lost then of imposing a Tote monopoly,

which is why British racing's prize-money lags so far behind other racing countries. In the United States, Australia and Hong Kong, for instance, all money is bet in a central pool and, after administration costs, all is returned to racing.

Sheikh Mohammed is right about the poor returns for racehorse owners in Britain, and a recent survey by the International Conference of Horse Racing Authorities, concerned with the percentage of cost recoverable through prize-money, placed Britain 86th out of the world's 40 racing countries.

The Sheikh and his brothers, making up the Maktoum family, have 500 horses in training in Britain, each costing about £300 a week. Last season the brothers won more than £5 million, about 12 per cent of the total pot of £40 million on the flat.

"That may not sound too bad but, set against an annual investment of more than £400 million, the sums, as the Sheikh says, do not begin to add up."

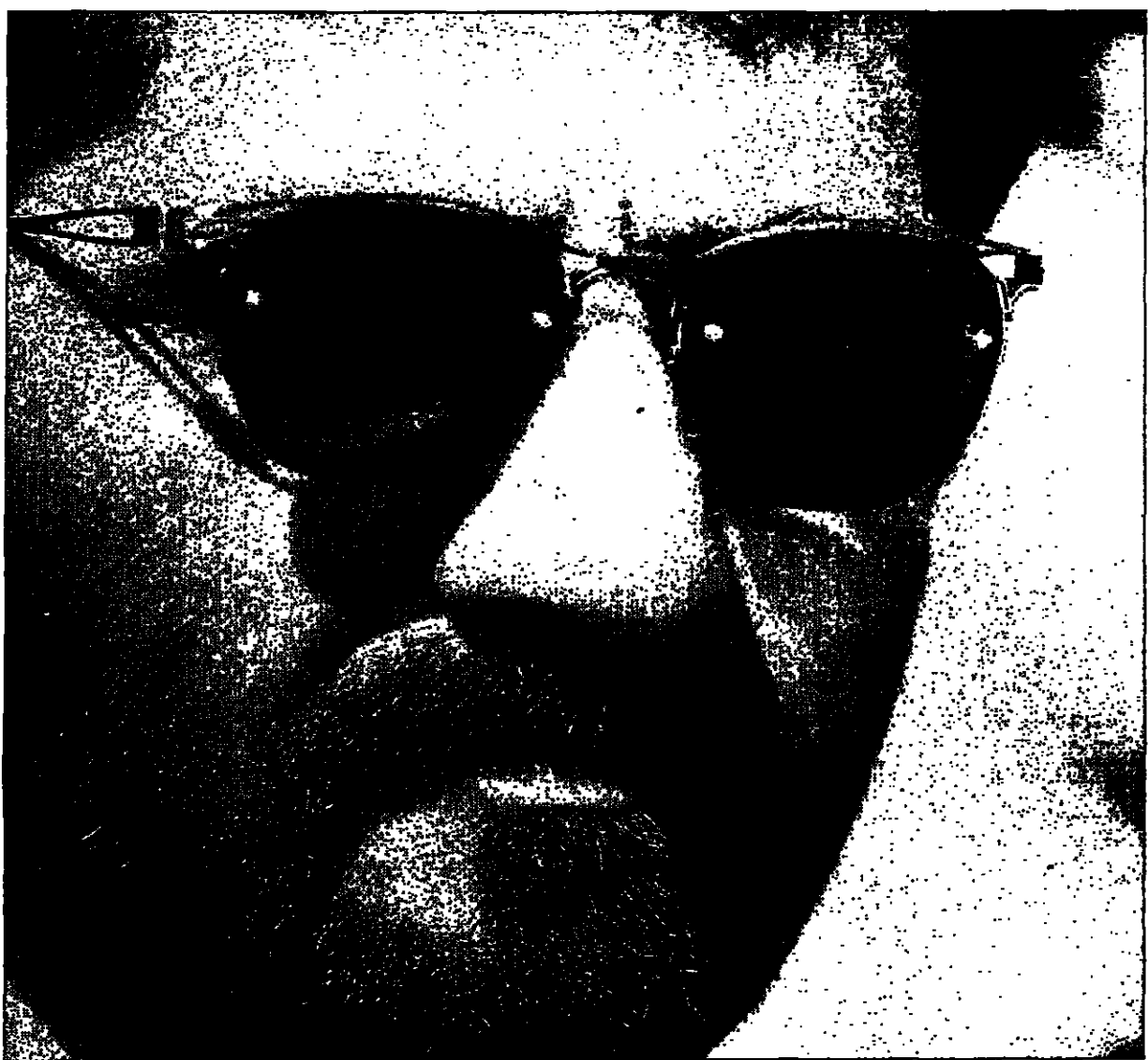
Lucia Cumani, who trains 23 of the sheikh's horses, believes that as many as 500 jobs will be directly at risk if the family pulls out, and David Loder, who trains 44 of the sheikh's horses at his Graham Lodge stables at Newmarket, says it would be an economic disaster for the town.

"I wholeheartedly agree that prize-money is too low and that bookmakers and the government take out too much," Loder said. "If it weren't for the owners there would be no racing or betting industry and nothing for the government. Their interests have got to come first."

Rodney Brack, chief executive of the levy board, also believes that persuading the government to give more back to the sport is the key. "Given Sheikh Mohammed's very high level of investment over the last 20 years or so we must take his views very seriously and hopefully the government can be persuaded to transfer more funds into the industry from general betting duty."

This task will fall to the British Horseracing Board. The chairman Lord Wakeham said yesterday: "Sheikh Mohammed's comments are particularly relevant as the BHB prepares to renew its representations to government for another cut in betting duty and increase in the levy."

"We share the sheikh's view that the government extracts more than is justifiable or sustainable in the long term."



In the shade... Sheikh Mohammed has yet to have a Derby winner in his colours in 17 attempts PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS COLE

# Free-spender caught in a crisis of his own making

**Jamie Reid** argues that a family which has spent £250m on yearlings cannot complain

**T**HE Gimcrack dinner at York Racecourse is traditionally a controversial affair. The owner of the big two-year-old winner at the Ebor Meeting is offered a platform to address a gathering of his or her choice, and few have passed up the chance to make waves.

But after Sheikh Mohammed's representative Michael Oelborne had finished reading the sheikh's sobering words on Tuesday night, the atmosphere in the plush York dining room was said to have been more akin to the quarterdeck on the Titanic.

"You would expect any industry to be alarmed at the prospect of losing up to a thousand jobs and many millions of pounds. But a considered response to Sheikh Mohammed's professed disenchantment with British racing should point out that his complaints about prize-money would be more persuasive if he and his brothers had not adopted such a profit-gate approach to ownership over the past two decades."

Last March the American magazine *The Blood Horse* calculated that between 1980 and 1996 the Maktoums spent \$402.5 million (£250 million) on yearlings worldwide. And in the past six years alone they have spent over 24 million guineas at Tattersall's Park Paddocks in Newmarket.

Robert Sangster, himself the leading British owner in the Seventies and early Eighties, reckons that to make a profit on that kind of outlay "you'd have to win the Derby every other year for 10 years and own the champion sire into the bargain."

But in spite of his saturation-bombing technique in the sales ring, the sheikh has yet to have a Derby winner in his own colours in 17 attempts. Sangster feels that, faced with that kind of reward on his investment, the sheikh ought to have "sacked his trainers and bloodstock advisers or questioned his management technique or both".

The sheikh's displeasure

his patronage more widely. But though he believes that the sheikh is deadly serious in his contempt for the amateurishness at the heart of the British Horseracing Board, the trainer feels we should take the idea of the Maktoums quitting Britain seriously but not too seriously.

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## Sheikh Mohammed's horses

| Number of horses in training in Britain |             |             |              |            |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|
| Trainers                                | 2-year-olds | 3-year-olds | Older horses | Total      |
| David Loder                             | 1           | 1           | 1            | 3          |
| John Gosden                             | 35          | 47          | 21           | 103        |
| Mark Johnston                           | 1           | 1           | 1            | 3          |
| Michael Oelborne                        | 2           | 2           | 2            | 6          |
| David Newmarket                         | 1           | 1           | 1            | 3          |
| Michael Tabor                           | 1           | 1           | 1            | 3          |
| <b>Total</b>                            | <b>51</b>   | <b>93</b>   | <b>35</b>    | <b>219</b> |

at missing out in the biggest races can sometimes be seen writ large on his otherwise unexpressive face. But close associates such as the Newmarket trainer John Gosden, whose stable is Maktoum owned, deny that the sheikh has suddenly gone from being a gracious winner to a bad loser.

Like others of the Maktoums' English employees, Gosden has begun to spread

of competition." A sporting endorsement no doubt, although Sheikh Mohammed's idea of competition has sometimes seemed ambiguous at best. And he did not look too pleased when Tabor and his partner John Magnier outbid him for the top lots at the last two Tattersall's Houghton sales.

Magnier and Tabor have their eyes on European and American pre-eminence. But the sheikh's main in-

The sheikh's displeasure at missing out in the biggest races can be seen writ large

## Cricket

# Hollooake set for first test of cup claims

**Mike Selvey** in Sharjah finds England's one-day captain out to make the job his own

**T**HE mantle of leadership, ready as it appears to be sitting comfortably on Adam Hollooake's shoulders. Though he has yet to captain England in a one-day match more meaningful than the practice outings in Pakistan last week, he won plaudits there for handling all aspects of his new role with affable authority. Indeed, his understanding of public relations seems so instinctive that he may become the most media-friendly captain since Tony Greig, who virtually did the journalists' job for them.

Today, though, sees the start of the real business of showing that his capacity on the field can match his communications skills off it. Practice has whetted his appetite. "Keen!" he said yesterday. "We can't wait. Lahore was great and it all went as well as we could have hoped. But now we are all dying to get out there and show what we can do in earnest."

For the first time those running England's affairs have recognised that success in the World Cup in 18 months' time will depend on the identification and development of specialists, and the same goes for next year's mini-event which will now take place here in Sharjah rather than in Disneyworld, as had been mooted by the International Cricket Council. These specialists will be men who can compete at the highest level in two, maybe 2½, of the three disciplines of batting, bowling and fielding.

For today's opening match of the quadrangular Champions Cup, against India, Hollooake will have a side that bats meaningfully down to No. 10, has seven — at a pinch eight — bowling options and, in a part of the world where camel racing is popular on TV, not a dromedary among them. The days of bolstering the batting and filling in with an amalgamated fifth bowler are history.

Asheley Giles, Peter Martin and Ben Hollooake were omitted from the final XI but the decision was taken only after the team had practised at the stadium yesterday afternoon and the tour selectors —

David Graveney, David Lloyd, the captain, and opted members of the squad, Alec Stewart and Graham Thorpe — had looked at the pitch after it had dried out from the first viewing on Tuesday.

Its colour varies from mud to straw, which is scarcely surprising: it consists of mud, baked and buffed up, with straw rolled into the surface in places. The bounce for a new ball may well be good and skiddy, although the white ball used in day-night games — this is Sharjah's first under lights — tends to go soft rapidly. The outfield is not vast but should be slower than most.

The opening overs, with fielding restrictions still in place, shared by Dougie Brown, the success of the tour so far, and probably Dean Headley, with Matthew Fleming there to do an equally challenging job "at the death"; he was declared fit despite bruising from a blow in the ribs during practice.

Allister Brown, whose last innings for England was a rumbustious century against India two years ago, will open the innings with Stewart. Nick Knight will go in first wicket down and thereafter flexibility will be the key.

England will find India, and indeed Pakistan and West Indies, well practised in the longer form of the game (they have all just completed Test series) but less match-fit for the vigours of one-day international cricket. "We could," said Hollooake, "get the jump on them there."

He played down the idea that local knowledge gives India and Pakistan an edge and that a final between the two is a foregone conclusion. "Pakistan are our strongest opponents but start thinking that and you're on to a loser straight away," Adam Hollooake tends not to back losers.

West Indies have dropped to third in the Wisden world championship table after their 3-0 whitewash by Pakistan. Australia remain top, above South Africa. England are seventh between Sri Lanka and Zimbabwe.

## Edwards sends South Africa spinning to seven-run defeat

**Cath Harris** in Hyderabad

**C**HARLOTTE EDWARDS crowned her debut as an international leg-spinner by taking three wickets and the player-of-the-match award as England beat South Africa by seven runs yesterday in the opening game of the World Cup.

The result left England three points clear of Australia, their main group rivals, after the other two Group A games were rained off. Tuesday's matches in Group B were also cancelled and the organisers have awarded three points to those teams who were unable to play, half the number given to the winners of matches.

The 17-year-old Edwards played a prominent role with both bat and ball, scoring 38 of England's 94 for seven before taking three late wickets as South Africa finished on 87 for nine. The game was reduced to the minimum 30 overs after overnight rain delayed the start by more than four hours.

Ground staff used hot coals to dry the wicket but it was pressure from the Indian tele-

vision company Doordarshan which was most influential in getting the game played, despite calls from both physiotherapists for it to be cancelled.

Edwards was brought on to bowl with five overs remaining and South Africa 37 runs short of their target. She took two wickets in her first over and the third off the penultimate ball of the innings.

The leg-spinner Kathryn Leng and slow-medium bowler Karen Smithies, who took three for 26, also made important contributions. South Africa had romped to 42 for four off seven overs but added only seven runs in the next five overs after Leng was given the ball.

Conrad Hunte, South Africa's coach and a former West Indies opener, said: "Leng's bowling was the turning point because she tied up the middle order."

England, who continue the defence of their title against Pakistan in Vijayawada tomorrow, left with a ringing endorsement from Hunte. "England were superb in both batting and fielding," he said. "They are going to be the side to beat."

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The Guardian INTERACTIVE

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How the sheikh bought trouble, page 15

Newcastle go out with a win, page 14

Hollioake ready for first move, page 15

## SportsGuardian

## Champions League

Group B: Juventus 1, Manchester United 0

## Inzaghi just in time for Juventus

David Lacey in Turin

**M**ANCHESTER United did their best not to look like cats who had got the cream in the Stadio Delle Alpi here last night but, with their place in the Champions League quarter-finals secure, a certain amount of whisker-preening was inevitable.

Yet, while United's attack tended to jog through the match, Peter Schmeichel and his defenders had much to do after half-time once Juventus had brought a proper sense of urgency to their game. Schmeichel made several saves, Fabio Pecchia missed an open goal and then Filippo Inzaghi headed in from Zinedine Zidane's cross with seven minutes remaining.

There was jubilation on the Juventus bench when news came through that Rosenborg had been held 2-2 in Greece by Olympiakos, which was enough to send Juventus through as one of the two best runners-up.

Andy Cole and his calf strain were left on the bench and Nicky Butt, having developed a hamstring injury, missed the game altogether. But, even with Paul Scholes staying home to nurse his flu, United still put out a strong side. Karel Poborsky came in on the right, with David Beckham moving to central midfield, and Ole Solskjaer joined Teddy Sheringham up front.

Juventus looked to Zidane for the sort of momentum he had provided in their victory at Old Trafford last season but, with Didier Deschamps unfit, their formidable Gallic

influence had been halved. In addition Alessandro Del Piero, whose goal after 19 seconds had stunned United supporters in October, was suspended.

True, Inzaghi did his best last night to put Juventus ahead within half-a-minute. Alessandro Birindelli's pass found Daniel Fonseca in space on the right and from his centre Inzaghi produced a sharp downward header which was on its way to the left-hand corner until Schmeichel dropped on it.

After that, with Ronny Johnsen tracking down Zidane and Beckham again

making good use of the greater freedom he has when moving inside, United began to play with the discipline, composure and authority which characterised their performances in Europe this season. Poborsky's recall ensured their attacks had more natural width and, after Ryan Giggs had nodded back his long cross, Solskjaer, shooting on the turn, was just wide on the quarter-hour.

After Schmeichel's early save Juventus began to be frustrated by a combination of Henning Berg, Gary Pallister and the offside flag. The sluggishness of their passing was doing little to help Fonseca and Inzaghi break clear without exercising the linesman's right arm.

For Juventus the most promising avenue of approach continued to lie on their right when the ball was played in behind Phil Neville. Angelo Di Livio opened up the wing in this way for Fonseca 11 minutes before half-time and from his centre Zidane just failed to force the ball past Schmeichel.

The Italian side clearly had to raise the pace and, when they did, they nearly scored twice in the opening three minutes of the second half. First Pecchia, who had come on for Alessio Tacchinardi, headed wide after Fonseca had again found the right weight and angle with his cross. Then Fonseca hit the outside of the near post after Zidane had sent him clear.

These moments, plus encouraging news from other European fronts, roused both Juventus and their followers. Twice in as many minutes Schmeichel left his line to grab the ball from the feet of the oncoming Inzaghi. Yet when the United goalkeeper charged out again, this time in an effort to intercept Zidane on the right, the Frenchman had the wit to leave Schmeichel stranded and Pecchia facing an open goal. Somehow he shot wide. Zidane did much better in the 67th minute, meeting a ball from Pecchia with a smart turn and volley which looked like finding the inside of the right-hand post until Schmeichel, at full stretch, managed to turn it behind.

*Juventus (4-4-2): Peruzzi; Birindelli, Ferrara, Juliano, Tacchinardi; Di Livio, Corti, Zidane, Tacchinardi; Inzaghi, Fonseca. Manchester United (4-4-2): Schmeichel; G. Neville, Berg, Pallister, P. Neville; Poborsky, Beckham, Johnsen, Giggs; Sheringham, Solskjaer, Deschamps; G. Vidmar (c).*



Spring Czech... Karel Poborsky, on the United right, takes to the air to beat the challenge of Moreno Torricelli in Turin last night

SHALIN BUTTERILL

## Turin feels force of history

Paul Hayward says the balance of power in Europe is not yet ready to be transferred

**M**ANCHESTER United have not won in Italy in six visits stretching back to 1957. This time, having already made it through to the next round, they couldn't really lose. One United supporter was so disorientated by this inversion of the natural order that he wandered through Turin singing: "two World Wars and one World Cup..."

Wrong country, old son. Amid the twinkling Christmas lights and frosty air of the city squares this match carried a delicious end-of-term feel. With their 100 per cent record guaranteeing them a place in the quarter-finals, United could savour the spectacle of Italian football whirling on the rack for the second time in two months. It took until the 94th minute for Juventus to break free.

First Rome with England, now Turin. How the hierarchy of European football is shifting. The Stadio Delle Alpi is one of the world's most forbidding arenas. The measure of United's

achievement is that they were able to use it for a lap of honour. This team, on the cusp of greatness, no longer draws much of a distinction between away games and home.

Juventus may have regressed since the European Cup victory over Ajax two seasons ago but the players could still feel the force of the club's history at the backs. At the end of an even first half-hour they tore into the United defence

and eventually the pressure told, Inzaghi ruining United's unbeaten run.

The second half made grim viewing for the wedge of besotted United fans. But an onslaught from the Italian champions was no more than the observance of an obvious script. The difference this year is in the body language of the United players. At Old Trafford they conceded a goal to Del Piero after 17 seconds but went straight to work to assert their newly-forged maturity. The same process was evident last night. The 1997-98 vintage has acquired all the patience and

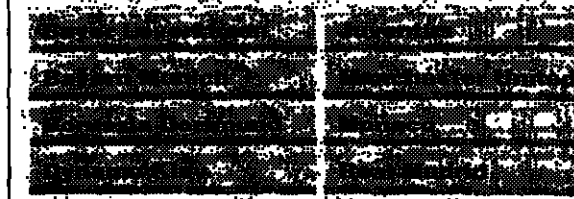
confidence it requires over the course of four Champions League campaigns.

It was sobering to think last night that here was a United side without Paul Scholes, Nicky Butt, David May, Andy Cole (until the 73rd minute), Denis Irwin and Roy Keane. A squad of 20 high quality players helps. So does the presence of probably the world's best goalkeeper when one of the world's mightiest clubs are using you as a firing range, as Juventus did in the second half.

In four months next year, United face an intensive final push in Europe, the climax of another domestic season and the unfolding of a World Cup in which England, too, are the bearers of unusually inflated hopes.

Delirium has been the dominant theme at Old Trafford this autumn. Last night it was somebody else's turn. On a huge screen at the end of the ground the news of Olympiakos' draw with Rosenborg flashed up, and the din of liberated hoards broke across the turf as the United players trudged off. The mission last night was to see Juventus off. Now United may have to meet them again down the line.

## Champions League qualifiers

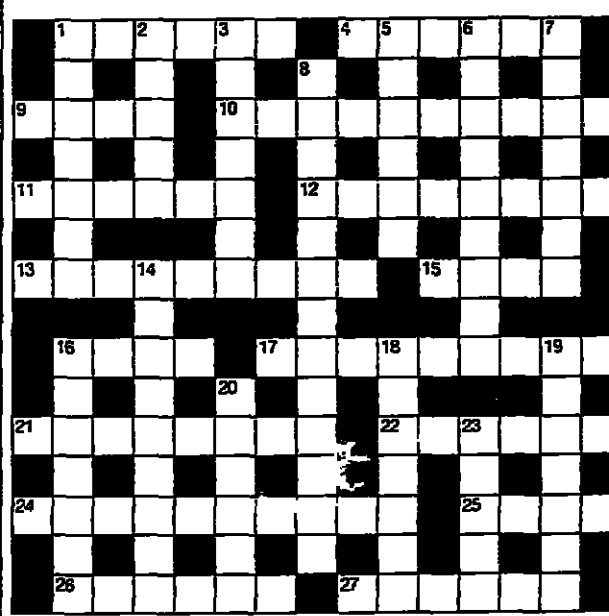


• The draw for the quarter-finals will be made next Wednesday.  
• The runners-up Super League and Juventus cannot play each other or the champions from their respective groups and will play the first leg at home.

• Champions League March 4 and 19, 1998  
• Semi-finals April 1 and 15  
• Final May 21 (venue to be confirmed)

## Guardian Crossword No 21,144

Set by Crispa



**Across**  
1 The teacher appears overcome (6)  
4 Copper having the last word about judgment (6)  
9 Fortitude is required on icy roads (4)  
10 Get in by force, showing initiative (10)  
11 A city woman returning after six (6)  
12 A schoolmate? Precisely! (8)

13 Not involved — not made to turn over dope (8)  
15 Charitable group (4)  
16 To settle a certain point would be prudent (4)  
17 The fans stand here going wild (6)  
21 State a party called for tropical fruit (8)  
22 A trainee tells stories to make friends (6)  
24 A rebel, having somehow lured many to join him, beat it (10)

**Down**  
1 A drink procured for a man accompanying one (7)  
2 Pitch into money-raising (3,2)  
3 Most of the players had a meal to give a boost (7)  
5 Writing the scoundrel a note that's really poisonous (6)  
6 Fish stuffing used at sea — a made-up food (8)  
7 Got comfortable home and got ahead (7)  
8 Fir forests had totally transformed a Midlands area (13)  
14 Show arranged by attendant — with an effort (9)  
16 They may be artless but have topping jobs! (7)  
18 A scholar, given time, adds up (7)  
19 The control exercised inside (7)  
20 Cheese-maker — nice as can be (6)  
23 Permission to retire (5)

Solution tomorrow

CROSSWORD SOLUTION 21,143  
1. A drink procured for a man accompanying one (7)  
2. Pitch into money-raising (3,2)  
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